1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

101 the Indus and its tributaries, whilst at the same time it
131 is completely surrounded by deserts and by mountains.
175 The position of Ptolemy's *A-khassa regio* agrees equally well with that of Ladák; for he places his district between the Chatæ Scythæ on the north, and the Chauranæi Scythæ on the south-east, and to the eastward of the Byltæ. The first must be the people of *Chang-thang** (or the "northern plains") to the north and east of Ladák; and the second are most likely the people of *Khor*, who dwell to the south-east of Ladák; while the Byltæ are certainly the inhabitants of Balti, or Little Tibet.

101 6. A later mention of Ladák, under a new name, is
175 made by another Chinese pilgrim, Hwan-Thsang, towards the middle of the seventh century. He states, that from *Khiu-lu-to* (or Kullu, a hill district to the north of Simla), at 2,000 *li* (or upwards of 300 miles) across the mountains, is the kingdom of *Mo-lo-pho*, which is also called *San-pho-ho*. The former is an exact transcript of *Mar-po-yul*,† or "low land," to distinguish it from the high lands of Chang-thang and Ngari. The other name of *San-pho-ho* is a literal transcript of *Tsang-po*, or the "river," which is a common designation for the Indus in Ladák, and in fact for any great river in the Tibetan language; *San-pho-ho* is, therefore, the country on the *Tsang-po*, or Indus.

● 177 7. These notices of Ladák bring us down to that
212 interesting period when the Devanágari alphabet of India was introduced into Tibet from Kashmir, in the first half of the seventh century of our era. Thumi Sambhota was the first who taught the Tibetans the use

* *Byang-thang*, pronounced *Chang-thang*, the *Chan-than* of our maps.
† *Mar-po-yul*, the "low-country."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of the Kashmirian characters, which remain unchanged to this day.* 177 212

8. In the beginning of the eleventh century Palgyigon occupied Ladák, and Tashi-Degon took possession of Purang.† In A.D. 1314, Rinchana Bhoti invaded Kashmir.‡ As he entered the valley by Gagangir, on the Sindh river, he must have advanced through Drás, one of the districts of Ladák. It is probable, therefore, that he was the ruler of Ladák. At that time Kashmir had been invaded by an army of 60,000 horse, under the command of Dallach, the minister of a neighbouring chief, named Karma Sena. The invaders advanced to the capital, which, being deserted by the Raja Sena Deva, was plundered and burned. Dallach continued his devastations to the eastern end of the valley, and retired by the Pass of Tár-bal.§ Numbers of the Kashmiris then waited upon Rinchana, who was emboldened to advance against the troops of the Raja Sena Deva. The raja fled; the Bhotiyan chief was victorious, and assumed the sovereignty of the country. He strengthened himself by marrying the daughter of Rama Chandra, the general of Sena Deva; and reigned for three years, from A.D. 1315 to 1318, the undisputed master of Kashmir. 175

9. Half a century before this time the celebrated Marco Polo had visited the court of the great Kublai, Emperor of China. He had sojourned in the hills of Badakshán for the sake of his health; and he describes the countries of Wakham, Pamer, Bolor, and Kashmir.

* Csoma de Kōrōs, Tibetan Grammar, p. 178.

† Csoma, in Prinsep's useful tables, p. 131. The names are written *dPal-gyi-mGon* and *bKra-shis-lDe-mGon*.

‡ Raja Tarangini. § That is, the "Tar-hill" in Kashmiri.

1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

712 well-dressed artillerymen. Altogether I was as much pleased with the orderly appearance, as with the judicious situation, of this fort.

The new fort of *Kargyil* is situated on the left bank of the Suru river, immediately above the junction of the *Waká-chu*. It is a square of about sixty yards, with round towers at the angles, and a square tower with a small outwork in the middle of the river-front. This work forms a difficult entrance, and at the same time insures a supply of water. The walls are loopholed throughout, and the garrison can sweep the bridge over the Suru river with deadly effect. The position was admirably chosen, as it completely commands the high-road to and from Kashmir.

The new fort of Drás is similar to those of Lé and Kargyil. It is situated on the left bank of the Drás river, and commands the passage of the valley.

The bridge-head of Khallach is on the right bank of the Indus. It consists of a square loopholed tower, built of large sun-dried bricks, with an inclosure surrounded by a high loopholed wall. The garrison of twelve men is furnished from Lé, and is relieved every three months. This work completely commands all approach to the bridge on each bank of the river.

643 In my opinion, the measures which the maharaja has
177 taken for the maintenance of his power in Ladák are
578 judicious and effective. Many people grumble; but the dissatisfaction is principally confined to the upper classes, who have lost all their power; and to the Kashmiri Mahomedans, a despicable race, who are ever wishing for change, and who, if they were under the British to-morrow, would long for the Chinese on the next day. To the lower classes the change of govern-

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ment has in some respects been a very decided benefit; for although they may now pay *directly* a larger amount than formerly to the state, yet indirectly they pay a less sum, as there is now only *one* duty throughout the country, in place of the numerous charges which were formerly exacted by all the district *Kahlons* and petty *Gyalpos*. They have also the advantage of excellent roads, which is a benefit duly appreciated by a people whose principal means of livelihood are derived from the transport of merchandise. For these good roads, as well as for the almost complete extinction of theft, the Ladákis are indebted to the active zeal of Zoráwar Sing and his successors. Such are some of the advantages which have resulted from the conquest of the country by an energetic people.

643 651 177 578 177 491 643

VI.—POSTAL ESTABLISHMENT.

The postal arrangements throughout Ladák are simple and effective; but the transmission is generally slow. The *Goba* of each village is bound to furnish a courier to carry the post from his own to the next village on the road. Along the high-roads the couriers are all horsemen, *Tázampa*,* and the post is carried at the rate of from twenty to thirty-five miles a day. The former is the usual rate; the latter is the express rate when any government business is urgent. Thus letters sent from Kashmir usually reach Lé, a distance of 220 miles, in ten days; but when the despatch is urgent, it generally reaches in six days.

205

All officers of government make use of the village couriers for the conveyance of orders or intelligence;

[648] 205

* *rTá-zam-pa*, "horse-bridge."

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

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and moral, may be easily accounted for by the severe cold and extreme dryness of the Tibetan climate, and by the former intimate connection of the people with the Caucasian Hindus of India for many centuries during the flourishing period of Buddhism.

The great mass of the people of Ladák are all of one race or caste. They intermarry and eat together, and are all eligible as members of the national priesthood. But in the northern provinces of Ladák there is a numerous class called *Bem*,* or "low," which includes all the dancing-women and their attendant musicians, all smiths and carpenters, and in fact handicraftsmen of every kind. In Lé itself, and in Chachot, there are small colonies of Kashmiris, whose connection with the native Botis has produced a mixed race called Argon.† These same hybrids between the Kashmiris and the native races are also found in Kashgar, Yarkand, Aksu, and Kotan.

III.—PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Of the physical characteristics of the Botis, little has been made known beyond the facts that they have "a strongly-marked Tartarian or Mongolian countenance, and that they are superior both in vigour of body and in stature to the other Mongolian races of Kalmaks and Tungusis."‡ Their peculiarly Tartarian physiognomy must be considered as a presumptive proof of their

* The men are called *hBems-pa*; the women *hBems-mo*, or *Bem-mo*.

† This is probably the Turki word *Arghun*, ارغون, "fair;" the mixed race of half Kashmiris being much fairer than the people of the country.

‡ Prichard, Natural History of Man, p. 217.

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XIII.—RELIGION.

I.—EARLY RELIGION OF TIBET.

THE religion of Tibet is a modified form of Indian Buddhism. This faith was first introduced into Ladák during the reign of Asoka, upwards of 2,000 years ago, when that great follower of Buddha was propagating his new religion with all the zealous ardour of a proselyte. In 241 B.C., at the close of the third synod, numerous missionary teachers were despatched to all the surrounding countries to spread the peaceful doctrines of Sakya Muni. The *Thero-Majjhantiko* (Sanskr. *Sthavira Madhyamika*) was deputed to Kashmir and Gandhara ;* and, upwards of six centuries afterwards, the people on the Indus still attributed the spread of Buddhism "beyond the river" to some Sramanas (or ascetics) who came with sacred books, 300 years after the Nirvana of Buddha,† or in B.C. 243. The agreement of these dates gives to the two events the relation of cause and effect, the conversion of the people having been the result of the mission.

The spread of Buddhism in Ladák was followed by its introduction into China, about the beginning of the

* Mahawanso, p. 71. † Fo-kwe-ki, c. VII.

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ledged in Tibetan Buddhism. All these are celestial beings, the spontaneous emanations from the Divinity, who have never been subject to the pains of transmigration. Inferior to them are the created or mortal beings, who are divided into six classes, named *Droba-Rikdruk*, the "six advancers or progressors," because their souls progress by transmigration from one state to a better state, until they finally attain absorption into the divine essence; after which they are no longer subject to transmigration. These six classes are—

1. *Lhá*, "Gods," equivalent to the Hindu *Sura* and *Deva*.
2. *Lhá-ma-yin*, or *Lhá-min*, "Demi-gods or Titans," equivalent to the Hindu *Asura* and *Daitya*.
3. *Mi*, "Man;" the Sanskrit *Manushya*.
4. *Dudro*, "Brutes;" in Sanscrit *Tiryyaka*, "crookedly," because they walk a little out of the right path.
5. *Yidok*, "Goblins;" in Sanscrit *preta*.
6. *Myalba*, "the damned;" in Sanscrit *Náraka*.*

It is one of the most essential dogmas of the doctrine of transmigration that the disembodied soul is incapable of receiving either reward or punishment. Hence the belief in other grades of mortal beings, both superior and inferior to man. The good man, after death, is supposed to be raised to the dignity of a *Lhamayin*, or demi-god, while the bad man is degraded to the state of a *Dudro*, or brute. These different orders of beings were not the invention of the Buddhists, for they existed long before the rise of Buddhism, and were the offspring of man's yearning for a future and better state. Like as in India, where the Brahmans have declared all the ancient

* The hells are divided into eight cold and sixteen hot hells, which are favourite subjects of representation with the Chinese and Tibetan painters. The punishments are *not everlasting*; finite sin is expiated by finite punishment; and when the expiation is completed, the person is born again. See also Fra Orazio, Nouv. Jour. As. tom. XIV. p. 410.

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177 779 village *Thakurs* and *Debis* to be only so many different forms of Mahadeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the Lamas have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, 776 though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods, and the dales. Some of these divinities are the following:—

1.	*Rihi-Lhá* ...	... Mountain Gods, or Oreades.
2.	Chhuhi-Lhá ...	... River Gods, or Naiades.
3.	Shinggi-Lhá ...	... Tree Gods, or Dryades.
4.	Zhi-Lhá* ...	... Family Gods, or Lares.
5.	Zhing-Lhá ...	... Field Gods, or Leimoniades.
6.	Khyim-Lhá ...	... House Gods, or Penates.

177 779 In after-times the mystical system of the Tantrists was engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepál and Tibet; and the pictures of the prevailing red and yellow sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying *Dorjechuk* (Iswara), and of his blood-drinking spouse (*Dorje-Summa* the three-eyed goddess *Trilochana*). These doctrines were named *Nang-pa*, the esoteric or orthodox, in contradistinction to the Phyipa, exoteric or heterodox. With them, I believe, originated the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyani Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part.

* *Zhe-Lhá. Lha* is the generic name of God; hence, Buddha is called *Cha-ni-Lhá*, the "God of Gods." The similarity of this name to the Roman *Lar*, and to the old Arabic *Ilah*, God, is very striking. I may notice here, that the usual translation of the Musalmán Kalimeh, *La Ilah ila Allah*, "there is no God but God," is a manifest error. The true translation is, "there is no God but *Allah*."

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197 *chang* and *Tibar-skad* of Kanáwar. This comparison will give a much better idea of the language than any thing that I can say.

III.—PRINTING.

213 Printing has long been known and practised in Tibet, but only by engraved stereotype wooden blocks, and not by moveable types. The printing of a new work is therefore a most expensive and laborious process. The accompanying specimen of a Tibetan horn-book, or primer, is printed from one of these engraved planks.* The letters are most beautifully cut, but the block has been so much used, that the original sharpness is now quite gone.

The first or middle circle is blank.

The second circle contains a mystic formula, which I cannot decipher.

The third circle contains the ejaculation *hih*, eight times repeated.

The fourth circle contains the ejaculation *hún*, ten times repeated.

The fifth circle contains the Tibetan alphabet, arranged according to the Sanscrit order, with all the cerebrals and aspirates complete. These last letters are not used in Tibetan words, but only in the transcription of Sanscrit names; as for instance, the *ṇ* in *Padmapaṇi*. It is remarkable that the *ch*, *chh*, and *j* have all got the mark placed over them, which alters their pronunciation to *ts*, *tsh*, and *ds*. This is, I think, a direct proof that the Tibetans obtained their knowledge of Sanscrit, as well as their alpha-

212 177

* See Plate XLIV.

1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 212 bet, from the Kashmiris, who still pronounce these letters in the above manner, as *Pandsál* for Panjál.

The sixth circle I cannot decipher, but I can trace the repeated ejaculations of hun-hun! hun-hun! hun-hun! hun!

The seventh circle is one of the most interesting, as it contains the famous Indian enunciation of the Buddhist faith, which I found inscribed on a stone which I extracted from the great tope of *Sárnáth*, near Benares. This is the only instance in which I have seen it used in Tibet.

539

Aum! Muni, Muni, Mahá-Munaiyé, swáhá!
Yé dharma hetu prabhavá hetun teshán Tathágato
hyavadat teshán cha yá nirodha evam vadi Mahasramanas.

"In the name of the Triad! O, Muni, Muni, great Muni, adoration! Of all things springing from cause, that cause hath the Tathágata explained; the cause of their extinction also hath the great As-cetic declared."

213 New works are rarely undertaken, but the printing of their standard religious works is still carried on by the Tibetans with the same old blocks that were in use upwards of 100 years ago. The great mass of printing, however, is chiefly confined to the production of the innumerable quantity of prayers and mystical formulæ that are required by the people. I have seen many rolls containing many hundred repetitions of the same sentences. They are printed on sheets of a thin brownish paper called *Grega* (or *Tega*), but the books are printed on a much smoother paper called *Par-shog*, or "printer's paper." The ink is called *Par-snag*, or "printer's ink." The printer himself is named *Par-pa*, and where several are employed the head printer is called *Par-pon*. The printing board, or table, is *Par-shing*, and "copy" is called *Par-bri-pa*. The engraved block is named *Zhi*,

[788]

692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc., it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

453
476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

their women occasionally turn Buddhist for the sake of marrying a well-to-do Ladáki, it is much more unusual for them to do so than for Ladaki women to turn Mahomedan. 563 583 797

It follows, therefore, that the árGHôn population of Ladák, (confined almost entirely to the town of Leh and its immediate vicinity) is increasing more rapidly than the Buddhist population. [162]

The language of the arGHons is Tibetan, and they affect Mahomedanism. They go to the Musjid to pray, they can repeat the "Kalma" or "declaration of faith," and they know the ordinary ritual, this is enough for them, and they think themselves very good Mahomedans. 197 563

When left to themselves, the Ladákis were free from religious bigotry, and their womenkind scorned to hide their faces from the public gaze; but since the Dogra conquest of the country, they have (excepting for about 10 years, when there was an English Governor of Ladák), been ruled over by Wazirs, some of them Hindus and some of them Mahomedans, but all of them inhabitants of India, and the result is, that Ladák is being slowly, but surely, impregnated with the barbarous Indian ideas in connection with religion and matrimony. Already the árGHôns are beginning to shut their women up in Zananas, while the árGHôn women as often as not, veil their faces when pass-[57]ing strangers in the streets. Child marriages are becoming more common, and the people are being taught that polyandry, that invaluable safe guard against over population, with its inevitable consequences of poverty, disease, misery and crime, is disgraceful. 798 178 177 583 562 595

Mr. Drew gives the ArGHóns a very bad character, he says "the half castes are for the most part thoroughly untrustworthy, and in other respects they are of worse character than either of the races they spring from." I have been in Ladák for over four years, and have had a good deal more experience of Ladákis than Mr. Drew had, and I have no hesitation in saying that he has maligned them, as a whole. 114 563

Under the "nikah" system, it of course happens that in the course of half a dozen years, a woman may have had half a dozen different husbands, and as many different families. In such cases the children of all but the last husband, are homeless waifs, and develop into persons such as Mr. Drew describes, but it also frequently happens that "nikah" marriages are not 563 583 851 114

arrangement serves with them for a hinge. 000

[62] HOE--pharooa (large spade-like implement for digging) thoktsey (small narrow implement used for weeding or digging up earth round roots of flowers, etc.). 241

[63]

HOT SPRING--chhootshan. There are a good many of these, the principal ones being at Pooga, Panámik, Changlung ShooSHól, and Kiám. The Kiám spring which is the hottest, has a temperature of 179° and is impregnated with soda and sulphur. 133

HOUR--chhootshot i.e., water measure--so called because the Dógras, who first taught the Tibetans to count time by the hour, used for an hour glass, a brass bowl so made, with a small hole in it, that when placed in a pan of water, it floated for exactly an hour, after which owing to the weight of water gradually taken in through the hole, it sank. 804 177

HOUSE--khángpa or khampa (general), khar (of a king), zimskhang (of a great man), táSHak (of a Láma not residing in a monastery) zimSHak or zimSHung (of a "skooSHok" or "incarnation". These persons never live in a monastery but have quarters close by) khángzhik or khángoo (a small hut) GHunsa (the word means "winter place" and is used to indicate the house in a village occupied by a villager during the winter) yártsa (meaning "summer place" is used to indicate the house out in the fields, where the cultivator lives during the summer, so as to be near his work). 342

HOVEL--khángoo or khangzhik (a small and poor house) pooloo (the small dry stone wall shelter-places to be found near the tops of mountain passes and in other out of the way places, sometimes with slab-stone roof, generally without any roof, but never containing any wood work, as this would inevitably be stolen and used for fire-wood).

[64]

HUSBAND--toks or troks or zhidmat. The words mean also "wife". Polyandry is almost universally practised among the Buddhists of Ladák. Matrimony and the law of entail (which see) are closely connected. The eldest son inherits the whole of the family property, and he it is who is entitled to marry a wife. 601 590 428 583

213 PRINT TO--par giáp ches. Printing in Ladak is confined entirely to the printing of texts, religious books, etc. The Lámas are the only people who print, and their methods are exceedingly primitive. They have blocks of wood engraved, and with these they print or stamp the texts, etc.

875 [129]PURR TO--máney ton ches i.e., to tell beads. Tibetans consider
788 that a cat is a sacred animal, having once slept on the hem of God's garment. They think that when it is purring, it is muttering prayers, hence the expression for to purr.

751 QUARANTINE--GHak ches. In the old days, the Ladák Rajas, whenever they heard that small-pox was prevalent in Kashmir, used to impose a 10-days' quarantine at Khalsi on all arrivals from Kashmir.

776 [130]QUEEN--giámo or giálmo or rgiálmo. The Queen-Empress of
●177 India is known to Ladákis as "paldan hlámo" or "goddess Paldan." In pictures, the "Paldan Hlámo" one of the Buddhists' goddesses or fairies, is represented as sitting on horseback, not astride, as after the manner of Ladák ladies, but sideways; hence, as European ladies ride on side saddles, the Queen has been given the name of Paldan Hlámo. It is supposed that the Queen's children used to fly away into space, and converse with the fairies, but that latterly, as they have taken to eating pig's flesh, this power has been taken away from them.

524 QUOIT--lchaks i khorlo (the iron quoit) khábmo (the game). Ladákis have a game like quoits, only they use stones, which have to be thrown into a small hole in the ground.

525 RAFFLE TO--rgiánSHingtáng ches. Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle.

821 RAINBOW--záchoothung. The word "za" means 'epilepsy" and "chhoo-
753 thung" means "water drink." Ladákis look upon the rainbow as the spirit of epilepsy; they say that one end of the rainbow is always in a stream, or other water, and that the phenomenon is caused by the spirit of epilepsy coming down to drink. If the shadow of a rainbow falls on any person, he or she becomes epilepti

[131]

412 RAKE--kházey (wooden, with teeth); panka (small wooden, and with no teeth).

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

[789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days. 805 177

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1930), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows 805 787 177

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without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other: iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

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1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

1 cu-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration. 805 770

1 dbugs has 60 ča-šags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-šar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas bya = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn 787

7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions 775

553 on the evening after the birth of his little son. The skushog assumed
772 a concerned expression and thought the matter over for a while, then he said: "The Lu (water gods) are angered at your little son, and the red Tsan-demons are hostile to him; there is no doubt about that. We must choose a good, powerful protective name. Name your son Drogpa Namgyal (Tibetan aBrog-pa rNam-rgyal; Drogpa--"Great Conqueror") (12). The name will keep away all evil spirits."

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12. The Drogpa (abrog-pa) are an Aryan tribe which penetrated into western Tibet from the northwest, Dards from the highlands of Gilgit and Astor. Western Tibet was in earlier times settled only by Tibetan nomads. There in the mountain wildernesses the immigrating Dards planted fields, built villages, cities and fortifications and apparently lived peacefully side by side with the nomadic Tibetans in the land at first. Later these Drogpa were partly driven out and partly subjugated by the Tibetans who had learned agriculture from them as from the Indian Mon; so that today the Drogpa are only to be found in a few villages. Although the Drogpa frequently intermingled with the Tibetans, they are nevertheless despised today by the latter. In the mouth of the Tibetan the word Drogpa is as much as an insulting name. The Mon are even lower in the opinion of the Tibetans. The ancestors of the Mon brought, in the last centuries before Christ, Buddhism together with Indian culture from their homeland in the northwestern India to western Tibet and built monasteries and villages as centers of their missionary and colonizing activity. They, too, were partly driven out and partly suppressed by the Tibetans. Nowadays the Mon are only found still in single families and tribes in the villages of Ladakh, where they are active as carpenters and musicians. As such they are much in demand, but nevertheless they are very much despised just as the smiths (gar-ba), who are also of Indian extraction, as well as the Beda who travel through the country as an itinerant people, musicians and jugglers. All
551 these despised names: Drogpa, Mon, Garba, Beda are often given to a child as a protective name on its way through life; with it is connected the naive conception that the evil spirit will be frightened off because behind the name it will suspect a real "dirty Drogpa" or "dirty smith." (Compare A. H. Francke, A History of Western Tibet, London, Partridge & Co., pp. 19 ff.)

[868] observations and impressions are assimilated by the person and are
241 made to become fruitful in his own, independent actions. Drogpa Namgyal saw in the fields how his father coupled two dso (oxen, a cross between yak, oxen, and an ordinary cow) to a very primitive hook-plow. He saw how his father then plowed the stony field on which another man, who had been hired to help with the tilling of the field, had previously scattered the seed (wheat or barley). The seed was then plowed under. He saw how then his mother with the help of two women watered the field with the love and care with which one ordinarily treats a garden.

241 On the uneven floor of the valley, which in parts rises steeply,
312 and on the slopes of the mountains the fields have been laid out with great skill in terraces, in order to even out inclines that are too steep. The watering of the fields attracted Drogpa Namgyal's special attention and aroused him to help with it. Only gradually did he find his way in the intricately ramified net of watering trenches which was spread over the entire bottom of the valley and even up to the foot of the slopes. These small trenches (yur-ba) are all fed from one main trench which receives the water of the brook high above in the side-valley. The brook brings this water from the distant snow field way up in the mountains. With the greatest of skill and with the simplest [412] of tools--spades, pointed hoe and crow-bar /31/--the Tibetans have [177] been setting up these water trenches for centuries. They probably learned this skill from the immigrant Aryans (compare note 12). The watering ditch is either dug into the available plot of ground wherever this is possible, or else an artificial channel is created from stones and sod, which is scantily sealed off by means of loamy soil. In this manner the channel is often built from four to five kilometers and more along barren, steep cliff faces. Here they often have to be propped up by walls and buttresses which are most laboriously built into the rock, whenever the precipitous side of the mountain offers no base of support. In the bottom of the valley the main trench then branches out into a large number of small ditches so that every, and even the most distant, piece of field can be irrigated

The mother, armed with a wooden shovel, conducted the water from one field terrace to the next until all were thoroughly irrigated so that the water stood on the plowed ground for a while and had time to penetrate into the soil parched by the singeing sun. Lobsang Wanggyal with his large holdings of land was allowed to use the water of the channel for a whole day; after him there came on

000 previous magistrate had enriched himself considerably by accepting bribes and through fraud in the collection of the taxes (as so many of the higher and lower officials did in the country). This had finally landed him in jail.

777 Among his compatriots Namgyal was considered a lucky person. "No wonder," they would say, "after all, he was born under a lucky star. His Sparka, Mewa, and Lungta signs (astrological signs) are high; even the worst demons cannot harm him." They liked to apply [538] an old proverb to him: The lucky person (who was born under favorable stars) you may chase, you won't catch him; the unlucky person may flee, he will not get away (159).

159. The proverb reads in Tibetan: ños-ʻgrug-la aded-de mi non / rkyen-ñan-la śor-te mi bud.

000 Thus it looked as though the ninth year of Namgyal's married life, the earth-tiger year, was also to be a fortunate year. The old devil-tamer (Dorje Dud-joms) was still practising his black art and without Namgyal's consulting him, since by now he refused the sooth-sayer's services completely, the latter had said that the new year would be a year of good fortune for him and his house, judging by all the signs. Namgyal's wife had secretly asked the old Gya-mt'so-pa, the fairytale teller. The latter had consulted destiny in his own manner. Nothing pointed to approaching disaster, he said. The Dragshos people could rest easy.

With a contented mind Namgyal had set about his spring tasks. Then suddenly dark clouds gathered over his house.

755 His boy, Trashi Rigdsin, who had developed into a strong, straight lad with joy in living and doing, became ill of a violent intestinal disease during the summer at the time of the ripening of the apricots. In a short time he pined away to a mere skeleton. All medicines of the lharje (magical doctor), blood-letting, burning with /180/ red-hot iron, the mirror cure, the "baptism" with the drinking 000 of the magical water (160), none of it was of any avail. The lamas

757 160. Tibetan medicine is laid down in a series of volumes
177 (in block-printing) in the great collective work of the Buddhistic canon (bka-agyur, pronounced Kangyur). The main work of these is the Gyud-ji (rgyud-bźi). Tibetan medical knowledge is based in part on Indian, in part on

Chinese anatomy and medical science; nor are ancient Babylonians, Greek, and Persian influences absolutely excluded. The school of medicine on the Eisen /"Iron"/ Mountain (lcags-po-ri), a part of Potala Mountain, on which the palaces of the Dalai Lama is also situated, constitutes a part of the university for the lamas, at which they are prepared for their service. Here is likewise the medical faculty of the university. 757 177● [874]

Anatomy, as a science, is on a very low level among the Tibetans, since Tibetan physicians do not perform any dissection of corpses. Thus they know the inner parts of the human body at best through comparison with those of the animal body which they get to see--illicitly--at the killing of an animal, which is a sin for the Buddhist. (Compare Dr. Reinh. Müller, "Ein Beitrag zur ärztlichen Graphik aus Zentralasien," in the Archiv der Geschichte der Medizin, Volume 15) The Tibetans have taken over their scientific anatomy from the Chinese, with all the errors and defects that were contained in it. Thus on old anatomical tables, for instance, the liver is drawn in on the lefthand side, and the spleen on the right. (Compare Reinh. Müller, "Über Skeletdarstellungen," in Asia Major, Volume 2.) The anatomical tables (Tibetan, p'yaṅ-k'og las-t'ig) copied from the Chinese, show, correspondingly, quite phantastic representations of the human body; they serve primarily to indicate the spots on the body that are suited to bleeding and burning (with red-hot iron). Both procedures are frequently applied to human beings as well as household animals by Tibetan doctors. Often they produce successful results. But quite often they use burning in quite a nonsensical manner, on sensitive parts of the body, such as, for instance, the eyelid, the burning of which causes very severe harm. 757 177 826

Tibetan pharmacy uses a great number of native plants, and often in a very effective way, in the form of decoctions, powders, and pills. Aside from this they use metals as curative agents, such as gold, silver, copper, iron, brass, zinc, and mercury (the latter for syphilis); furthermore stones, minerals, and soils, such as, for instance, turquoises, pearls, snail shells, corals, cooking salt, natron, saltpeter, and sulphur. 278

The parts of animals' bodies play an important part in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY.

175 **Chapter II.**

History.

General history of the trans-Himalaya country of Láhaul and Spiti.

Láhaul and Spiti do not form a part of the country described by Mr. Barnes as "hills from time immemorial inhabited by Hindú races living under the Government of their native kings." On the contrary, they are properly Tibetan countries, which originally had no connection with India, and were included in the empire of Great Tibet. According to General Cunningham on the break up of this Empire in the tenth century many of the outlying districts were formed into independent kingdoms, and in this way a chief of the name of Palgyi Gon formed the kingdom of Ladákh, of which Láhaul and Spiti were the southernmost provinces. But from this time down to the conquest and re-consolidation of the kingdom in A.D. 1580 or 1600, by Chovang Námgyál (ancestor of the last dynasty of kings or *gidlpos* of Ladákh), nothing is known of Ladákh history. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"Moorcroft says that Ladákh was a province of Tibet, governed as to temporal or civil matters by an independent prince, and as to spiritual matters by the Pontiff of Lhásá. I think he here very truly describes the old constitution of the country. Among Buddhists the spiritual province is a very extensive one, so that there was in fact a divided government, the traces of which remain to the present day. It may be noted that all over Ladákh there are to be found vestiges of old forts which are commonly attributed by the natives to the time of the *mon rái* or government. This same word *mon* is, I believe, used by the Bhots or Tibetans as a general name for the Hindú races in Kúlu or elsewhere, and the *mon rái* is generally understood to have come from the south; but this is only matter of obscure tradition, which I have picked up myself from one or two Tibetans, and if there is any foundation of truth in it, it dates back to remote antiquity.* The first occasion within historic times on which Ladákh became in any degree politically dependent on India would appear to be in A.D 1687-88, when in return for aid given against an invasion of the Sokpas or Kalmach Tartars, a small tribute began to be paid to the governor of Kashmír as representative of the Emperor of Delhi; but a similar tribute seems to have been paid at the same time to the Government of Lhásá.† I may mention here that there are traditions in Láhaul which show that this invasion of the Sokpas extended thereto. Some curious

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* There is a legend current among the common people of Kángra which may have some connection with this Tibetan tradition. It is to the effect that a Rája from the south, named Amán or Mán, led an army all through Northern India and the adjacent countries, seeking for a power which would oppose him in the field, and finding none. At length he reached the lake in Tibet at the source of the Satlaj, now called "Mán Talái or Mán Sarowár," and, in pride and exasperation, threatened heaven with his sword; whereupon he and his whole army were overwhelmed in a snow storm and perished.

† Moorcroft mentions that the Gidlpo at the same time became a Muhammadan; his son recanted, but continued to pay the tribute to the Mughal Emperor. Change of faith seems to have been easier in those days; the wife of the Gidlpo, of Moorcroft's time, was by birth a Muhammadan princess.

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

child, but the wife of the family objected strongly, claiming both brothers as husbands, and refusing to admit another woman into the household, and she eventually prevailed. In Spiti polyandry is not recognized, as only the elder brother marries and the younger ones become monks; but there is not the least aversion to the idea of two brothers cohabiting with the same woman, and it often happens in an unrecognized way, particularly among the landless classes, who send no sons into the monasteries.

In Spiti when the bridegroom's party goes to bring the bride from her father's house, they are met by a party of the bride's friends and relations who stop the path; hereupon a sham fight of a very rough description ensues, in which the bridegroom and his friends, before they are allowed to pass, are well drubbed with good thick switches. In Spiti if a man wishes to divorce his wife without her consent, he must give her all she brought with her, and a field or two besides by way of maintenance; on the other hand, if a wife insists on leaving her husband, she cannot be prevented from so doing; but if no fault on the husband's side is proved, he can retain her jewels; he can do so also if she elopes with another man, and in addition can recover something from the co-respondent by way of fine and damages. There is a recognised ceremony of divorce which is sometimes used when both parties consent. Husband and wife hold the ends of a thread, repeating meanwhile "one father and mother gave, another father and mother took away: as it was not our fate to agree, we separate with mutual good will"; the thread is then severed by applying a light to the middle. After a divorce a woman is at liberty to marry whom she pleases; if her parents are wealthy, they celebrate the second marriage much like the first, but with less expense; if they are poor, a very slight ceremony is used.

Corpses are ordinarily burnt, and the ashes thrown into a river, or made into a figure of the deceased, and deposited in a *chorten* or pyramidical cenotaph in the case of great men. Burning is the only practice in Láhaul, but in Spiti the dead are sometimes exposed on the hills to be eaten by wild beasts, or cut into small pieces and thrown to dogs and birds according to the custom of Great Tibet, where these beneficent methods of disposing of the body are philosophically preferred as most likely to be pleasing to the Heavenly Powers. In the public rooms of some of the Spiti monasteries you are shown masonry pillars which contain the bodies of deceased abbots buried there in full canonicals in a sitting posture.

Of polyandry, Mr. Anderson writes:—

"Polyandry exists more or less on all the three rivers of Láhaul; but it is dying out. This probably arises from an improvement in the condition of the people, which has also produced greater division of families. The custom of polyandry is now considered shameful and is not willingly admitted. The younger brothers will allege that the woman is their elder brother's wife, not theirs. Trade has very much increased during the last ten years; the male population has now many new ways of earning a living, and hence the circumstances that gave rise to this custom are disappearing and with them the custom itself. It is not customary to marry young, women being generally between fifteen and twenty years of age (*vide* Cunningham's Ladákh, page 289). Even the better classes have, as a rule,

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, B. — Social and Religious Life.

only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Láhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Páng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjáb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lámáism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindúism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

The Buddhism of the Punjáb Himalayas.

* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

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Chapter III, B.

Social and Religious Life.

The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

retreated. In the valley of the Chandra Bhága, Hindúism has always existed, and is now the prevailing religion. No doubt some Buddhist observances still exist, modifying Hindúism more or less; and in secret the people may observe some Buddhist customs more than they will publicly admit. But they are brought by trade into close intercourse with the people of Kúlu, and find it to their advantage, from the social point of view, to prefer Hindúism. In the separate valleys of the Chandra and the Bhága, Buddhism has a much stronger hold than in the valley of the united rivers. But here again Hindúism is advancing, the people declare that they are Hindú Kanets, though they are probably more Buddhist than Hindú; and the Moravian missionaries at Keylang state that caste distinctions, which do not exist among pure Buddhists, are becoming more marked. The *lámás* of Láhaul will not eat with a European, while the *lámás* of Tibet have no objection to doing so. This advance of Hindúism is ascribed in part to the influence of the *thákurs* or barons of Láhaul; but it is, apart from such influence, which no doubt has its effect, inevitable and natural. These two valleys (the separate valleys of the Chandra and Bhága) are best described as a margin or debatable land between the two religions, though at present they are more Buddhist than Hindú. The people were once Buddhists and are so now to a great degree. But they have accepted caste and respect Bráhmans to some extent, and though it is known that many of their religious observances are of a Buddhist character, still they are accepted in Hindú Kúlu as Hindús."

Mr. Heyde, the Moravian missionary, puts the case rather more strongly for Buddhism. He is quoted at length in the following pages. Even the transition from Hindú to nominal Buddhist and back again seems to be possible, from the quotation from Mr. Anderson given below.

It would appear that there is little of Buddhism about the Láhaul *lámás* save their title. Even in small things the progress of Hindúism is visible. When Dr. Aitchison visited Láhaul the people would not as a rule kill an animal, eating only those which died naturally. But when the craving for the flesh-pots grew too strong, several combined in the slaughter in order to diminish the crime of each by distributing it over many. Now-a-days sheep and goats are commonly slaughtered without any scruple, while Mr. Anderson says: "It is not improbable that the Dágis and low castes, and perhaps even the so-called Kanets, when they wish to indulge in beef, kill a cow or a bullock on the sly, though this is denied with indignation and disgust." Even in 1868 the so-called pure Buddhists freely sacrificed sheep and goats to the *Lhás*, or local genii, employed Bráhmans in many of their ceremonies, and shared in all the superstitions and belief in witches and magic of their Hindú brethren. The same change which has taken place in Láhaul has apparently been going on in Upper Kanáwar; for in 1829, when Captain Gerard visited it, the religion of this tract was most certainly an impure Buddhism, while in the recent Census the state of Basáhir returned only one Buddhist among its inhabitants. In the Census of 1868 all the inhabitants of both Láhaul and Spiti were returned as Hindús, though Buddhists were separately shown for other districts. In 1869, Mr. Lyall wrote thus on the subject:—

"The people of Láhaul have now-a-days so much traffic with Hindús that they cannot afford to be out of the pale, and are rapidly adopting all

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The Hindú Buddhism of Láhaul.

Hindú ideas and prejudices. The process has been going on in some degree ever since the Rájas of Kúlu annexed the country, but it has been greatly accelerated of late years by the notice taken by our Government of the Láhauls and their headmen, and by their contact with Hindús more orthodox and exclusive than those of Kúlu and Chamba The force of attraction which Hindú exclusiveness brings to bear upon outlying tribes is enormous, and seems to be in no way weakened by the fact that the Government is in the hands of Christians. That fact of political subjection leaves the Hindús no other vent for their pride of race but this exclusiveness, and therefore heightens its value. Moreover, the consolidation of many Hindú races into one great empire increases the power which Hindúism has always had of drawing outsiders into its circle, for in social matters the empire is Hindú, and as Hindús the Láhaulis are free citizens, while as Buddhists and Botiás (Tibetans) they would be left out in the cold. The Láhauli now looks upon the name of Boti as a term of reproach. One of the headmen, when in my camp on the borders of Ladákh, met his own brother-in-law, a Boti of Ladákh, and refused to eat with him for fear that my Hindú servants might tell tales against him in Kúlu and Kángra."

And in 1881 Mr. Anderson wrote :—

"There are Buddhists in Láhaul, though there is a tendency now, as at the former Census, to record all as Kanet Hindús. *Lámás* are generally of the Kanet caste, though there are, I am told, cases where even *thákurs* have become *lámás*. The Kanet cuts his *choti* as does a *gosain*, and becomes the disciple of some *lámá*, and this may be even after marriage. The *lámás* of Láhaul (Drukhpa class) may marry. Their sons belong to their father's original caste. *Lámás* sometimes cease to belong to the priesthood, allow their *chotis* to grow, and are again received as Kanets. Women become nuns and live in the monasteries, where the morality is far from pure. It is common for cases of seduction to occur, and then the abbot imposes a fine (*dharmdand chostím*) in the shape of a feast to the fraternity. These facts show how intimately Hindúism and Buddhism are connected in Láhaul. It is still common for both Bráhmans and *lámás* to be present at marriages and funerals."

Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

The religion of Spiti is the Tibetan system of Buddhism, of which an excellent account is given in General Cunningham's *Ladákh*. The religion of Láhaul is the same, but mixed up with some ideas and observances borrowed from Hindúism, and with a substratum of the worship of local spirits and demons, which has already been described as existing in Kúlu, and which appears to be the primeval religion of the country of the high Himalayas inhabited by Hindú races. The following description of the religion of Láhaul was written down at Mr. Lyall's request by the Reverend Mr. Heyde in November 1868. His long residence among the people, by whom he is invariably respected, and great knowledge of their language and customs, ensure its accuracy :—

"The religion of Láhaul has been for a long time, and is still essentially Buddhism. It is, however, difficult to ascertain at what time this religion was introduced, as there do not exist any historical documents in Láhaul itself, and little reliance can be placed upon the vague traditions preserved by even the best informed men, such as *Thákur* Tára Chand and others. From their accounts, however, it may be gathered that long ago the kings of Ladákh, or rather a branch of the family (which at that time

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. Religion of Láhaul and Spiti.

reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Kokcr pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hun'* is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

† Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládakh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the time when the *Lung pashói* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men. 779

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Káugra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time. 177 564 167

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis. 184 779

"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all. [54] 795

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages, on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabbe—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spití, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir [778] [782]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

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in Mandi. Both males and females of the Buddhists make frequent pilgrimages to Triloknáth and Rawálsir. In honour of these and other Buddhist saints they celebrate a number of annual festivals, at which a great deal of *chàng* (an intoxicating drink made from barley) is consumed by both *lámás* and laymen.*

"All Láhauli *lámás* belong to the Drúkhpa sect; many of them are married, and possess houses and fields, and only live part of the winter in the monasteries. Almost every house contains a small family chapel, in which Sangyás is the principal image. It is furnished also with a few books, and daily offerings of the kind already described are made.

"As already said, there are a great many spirits or demons known as *lhás*, who are supposed to dwell in trees, rocks, or on the hill tops, and before whom the Buddhists (contrary to their religion) sacrifice sheep and goats.* In addition, they believe greatly in witches, sorcerers, and the evil eye, and have a host of other superstitions in common with all the other Láhaulis. The Buddhists, half-Buddhists, Lohárs, and Shipís, always eat up sheep or goats which chance to die from fatigue or disease; some of them eat also calves, oxen or *yáks* which die by a fall from rocks or otherwise, but this is done secretly. When at Keylang a calf happens to die in the morning, it remains where it fell the whole day, nobody touching it, but the dead body disappears certainly during the night. You see many bones, especially during winter, of such animals lying about near the villages, but dead asses and ponies only are left to the eagles and foxes. Slaughtering *yáks* during winter is still practised at Dárcha, Rerig and other villages above Keylang, but it is done very secretly, and nobody will acknowledge the fact. There is a small temple with the image of a *lhá* near Yanample. Every third year a *yák* is sacrificed there, the victim being supplied in turn by all the *kothís* of Láhaul. This custom dates from the time of the Kúlu Rájas, who (as the god is said to be the same as that of the Dungri temple near Manáli, in Kúlu) ordered that one buffalo was to be offered (as at Dungri) every third year. Since Láhaul has become British territory, *yáks* have taken the place of buffaloes. The Shipís eat the flesh of the sacrified *yák*.

"As there are in Láhaul at least three religions, which have influenced each other in many ways for a long time, the manners and customs of the Láhaulis are of a very varied and mixed description, and it is difficult to ascertain where many of them originated. With regard to sobriety, veracity, fidelity to the marriage tie, and in other ways, the morals, both of the Buddhists and half-Buddhists of Láhaul, are deplorably loose, but nevertheless they stick to their different religions with a tenacity that gives till now little hope for the spread of Christianity among them."†

Religious ceremonies connected with agriculture.

The Láhaulis observe certain ceremonies of a religious nature in connection with the cultivation of their fields. A *lámá* who understands the astrological books, names the auspicious day in which ploughing should be commenced (this day falls always between the 8th and 22nd of May). After the fields have been ploughed and sown, a procession goes round all the fields, preceded by one or

* *Srog machhat*, *i.e.* "Do not kill," is one of the first Buddhist commandments.

† Mr. Lyall writes: "The very tolerance of the Boti race in religious matters will, I think, be one obstacle to their conversion. In the Sunday services of the mission house I saw an old and learned *lámá*, who was living there to assist Mr. Jeschki in his Tibetan studies, join in the hymns and responses with great zeal and fervour. I do not think that either he or his friends saw any thing inconsistent in his so doing, though he had not the least intention of becoming a convert to Christianity. All worship is good, seemed to be his motto.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

two *lámás* and two drums, some of the company carrying at the same time several large religious books on their backs; this done, the whole company sits down in the fields near the villages, and feasts on cakes and *cháng* supplied jointly by all the land-holders. All this is done to secure the sprouting up of the seeds sown; after that the water-course for irrigating the fields is repaired, on which occasion a sheep is offered up to the *lhá* which is supposed to have special care of the water-course. Again, as soon as the seeds have sprouted, another ceremony is performed; this consists in sticking small branches of the pencil cedar here and there in the field, and burning incense, while some members of the family sit down, eat and drink a little, and murmur some prayers. This is to ensure that each grain which has sprung up may prosper and produce many ears. When the fields are nearly ripe, a goat or sheep is killed in honour of the *lhá*; in several villages horse-races are held at the same time. Till this festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated, nobody is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with a sickle made of iron, as in such case the field-god would become angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a Láhauli wants grass before the harvest sacrifice, he must cut it with sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep, or tear it off with the hand. Infractions of this rule were formerly severely punished; at present a fine of one or two rupees suffices, which goes into the pocket of the *jágírdár* or village headman. The iron sickle is used as soon as the harvest has been declared to be commenced by the performance of the sacrifice. The above description applies particularly to the ceremonies in use among the pure Buddhists of Láhaul, but somewhat similar rural customs prevail also amongst the half-Buddhists and among the people of Spiti.

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One of the most peculiar features of the *lámáic* system is the hierarchy from which it takes its name. The teaching of Buddha included an elaborate monastic system, but no priests, for there was no god to worship or ceremonies to perform, and no hierarchy, for all men were equal. And till about A. D. 1400 the *lámás* or monks of Tibet recognised no supreme head of the faith. But about that time the abbot of the Gáhldán monastery proclaimed himself the patriarch of the whole *lámáic* priesthood, and his successor, of the Tashi monastery, declared the grand *lámás* to be the perpetual re-incarnations of one of the Bodhisatwas or semi-Buddhas, who, as each *lámá* died, was born again in the person of an infant that might be known by the possession of certain divine marks. The fifth in succession founded the hierarchy of Dalai *lámás* at Lhásá in 1640, and made himself master of the whole of Tibet. He assumed the title of Dalai *lámá*, while the *lámá* of Tashi still continued to enjoy his former privileges; and thus we now have two great chairs filled by a double series of incarnations. There is a also third great *lámá* in Bhutan, known among the Bhutanis as the Dharma Rája, but among the Tibetans as Lord of the World. Below these three great *lámás* come the ordinary monks, who live for the most part in monasteries ruled by abbots whose only claim to precedence one over another is derived from the importance of the institution over which they preside, or from the

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1 [See also preceding page, cat. 116 - Analyst]

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The *lámáic* system.

influence of personal sanctity. They are, with the exception of the Drukhpa sect, bound to celibacy, at least while leading a monastic life, and are collectively called *gedun*, or clergy. They consist of *lámás* or full monks (for the word means nothing more), and novices or neophytes. There are also convents for nuns, which are very numerous. The *lámás* are distinguished by rosaries of 108 beads, which they wear as necklaces. Primogeniture obtains among the landholders of Spiti, the eldest son succeeding to the land as soon as he is of full age, and the father being pensioned off. The younger sons, as they grow up, retire to the ancestral cell in the monastery, where they support themselves by such industries as can be pursued within the walls of the building, and by alms and fees, often supplemented by an allowance from the eldest son. If the latter die without leaving a son, the eldest of his surviving brothers who cares to do so abandons the monastic life, resumes the property, and becomes the husband of the widow without further ceremony.

The Tibetan *lámás* are divided into three chief sects, of which the most ancient are the Nyimapa, whose followers wear red clothes, and to which most of the *lámás* of Ladákh belong. The Drukhpa sect also wear red garments, and are ruled over by the Dharma Rája or great *lámá* of Bhutan, in which country they are most numerous. It would appear that the Spiti *lámás* belong partly and the Láhaul *lámás* almost entirely to this sect, which permits its monks to marry. The Gelukpa sect was founded about A. D. 1400 by the first great *lámá* of Gáhldán, and its followers are distinguished by yellow garments; the sect prevails chiefly in Tibet, and both the Dalai and the Tashi *lámás* belong to it.

Monasteries or *gómpás* in Láhaul and Spiti.

The largest and most noted monastery in Láhaul is that of Gúrú Ghantál which stands on a mountain above the point of confluence of the Chandra and Bhága rivers. The number of regular monks attached to it is small, and most of them belong by birth to Ladákh or other foreign countries. A tribute of the value of Rs. 30, half in cash and half in goods, is sent every year by the abbot to the abbot of the Togna monastery in Ladákh, who forwards it with other tribute on his own account to that of Kángri Donján, near the Mansarowar lake in Chinese Tibet, whence it goes in the same way to the monastery of Pangtang Dechinling in Bhután (*alias* Lo), of which the abbot bears the title of Nawang Námgiál. This dignitary seems as head of the mother monastery, to be *ex-officio* the head of the order to which all of them belong, for the other abbots were all appointed by an order given in his name, and relieved in the same way at the expiry of their term of office; the chain of affiliation by which the different monasteries were connected seems to be traceable to the history of their gradual foundation by missionaries sent out from each centre. But the fact of Ladákh having come into the dominion of a Hindú prince (the Mahárája of Kashmír) appears to have weakened the authority of the Nawang Námgiál, for of late years a mere deputy of the Ladákh abbot has acted as head of the Gúrú Ghantál monastery. All the landholders of Láhaul, excepting a few Bráhmans, pay a fee of Re. 1 or thereabouts to this monastery on the death of a member of the household.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W.. Tibetans AJ4

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Monks and friars.

through all the neighbouring countries, stopping at every village, and acting plays, chanting legends, and dancing like whirling dervishes; many also trade in a small way by bartering grain for salt with the Tibetans, and then exchanging the salt with the Kanáwar people for iron, buckwheat, or honey; they also often undertake to carry loads for travellers across the passes, as substitutes for the landholders. They dress much like other monks; but, instead of shaving their heads, wear their hair in long straight twists, which, gives them a very wild appearance.* According to the story told Mr. Lyall in Spiti the *bozan* order was found by one Tánk-tong Giálpo (*lit.* king of the desert) under the following circumstances:— A certain king of Lhásá perverted the people of Tibet from Buddhism to a new religion of his own. He succeeded so well that in the course of fifty years the old faith was quite forgotten, and the *Om máni pádme hun*, or sacred ejaculation, quite disused. To win back the people, Tehan-rezig, the divinity worshipped at Triloknáth caused an incarnation of himself to be born in a king's house in the person of Táng-tong Giálpo; the child grew up a saint and a reformer; he saw that it was impossible to reclaim the people by books, and he therefore adopted the dress since worn by the *bozans*, and spent his life in wandering from village to village, offering to amuse the people by acting miracle-plays on condition of their repeating after him the chorus *Om máni pádme hun* whenever it occurred in the chants or recitation. In this way the people became again accustomed to repeat the sacred sentence, "their mouths became purified," and the religion of Buddha revived.† There is something rather impressive about the performances of these *bozans*. A long screen is first put up formed of pictures illustrative of the legends, and quaintly painted in brilliant colours on cloth edged with silk. An image of the patron saint or founder of the order is enthroned in front of the screen; the leaders of the company then appear in front of it, wearing a head-dress formed of a mass of streamers of bright-coloured silk. Conch shells are blown to collect the crowd, and barley thrown into the air as an offering to the saint: the proceedings then commence by an introductory chant by the leaders to the accompaniment of a kind of guitar; every now and then the whole crowd of men and women join in with the chorus of *Om mani pádme hun* which they give with much fervour, keeping good time, and blending their voices harmoniously. After a time the rest of the company come forward dressed up and masqued, and perform a play with interludes of dances to the music of cymbals,‡ the dancing

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* In 1868-69, when one of the three grand *lámás* of Tibet made a visitation tour through Láhaul and Spiti, the *bozans* were admonished to cut off their hair, at the unclerical appearance of which the grand *lámá* professed himself greatly scandalised.

† Mr. Lyall, from whom this description is taken, says:—"There may be errors in this story, and it may be a wrong account of the foundation of the order. I give it as it was told me in Spiti to show the kind of ideas the people have in their heads at the present day. Any one who wants serious information as to Tibetan Buddhism can refer to General Cunningham's *Ladák*."

‡ Mr. Lyall, who is again being quoted, writes:—"I took the trouble on one occasion to find out the story of the legend which was being recited and enacted; the gist of it was as follows:—A certain anchorite who had lived alone for twelve years in an inaccessible forest, one day washed his robe in a pool in the hollow of a rock. A doe drank the water in the pool, conceived therefrom, and gave birth at the

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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the face is always marked with lines and wrinkles. In fact, none of them can be said to be handsome, and the old women are quite hideous; the only redeeming point is the look of honesty and smiling good humour to be recognised in almost every countenance. In those parts of Láhaul in which there is most admixture of Hindú blood, the blending of the two types is very clearly distinguishable.

General character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti.

Mr. Lyall thus describes the character of the people of Láhaul and Spiti:—

"The character of the people is solid and conservative; their power of united action is considerable, as will be seen from the description I have given of the arrangements in force with regard to *kapár* and common expenses; they seem to me not quick-witted, but eminently shrewd and sensible. Though they show great respect to their hereditary nobles and headmen, they would, I believe, combine at once to resist tyranny or infringement of custom on their part. The headmen have certainly been hitherto very careful not to offend public opinion. They have few ideas in respect of manners; when holding a court or a meeting, I have often seen the whole assembly burst into a roar of laughter on my making a mistake in the language of a ludicrous character, and a man would fill and light his pipe under my nose on similar occasions without thinking of asking leave. But these same people answered all my questions very carefully, and carried out my orders with great fidelity. Murder, theft, or violent assaults are almost unknown among them,* and they seem to me to be fair, and often kind, in their dealings with each other; on the other hand, I agree with Mr. Heyde in considering the standard of sobriety and chastity among them to be exceptionally low. Drinking is a common vice in all cold countries, and the want of chastity is accounted for by the custom of polyandry in Láhaul, and of celibacy of younger sons in Spiti, which leave a large proportion of the women in both countries unmarried all their lives. In spite of these two frailties the Botis seem to me (like the Scotch country people, who are also subject to them) to be an eminently religious race; they seem to think that to withstand these particular temptations is to be a saint, and that in ordinary men who do not aim so high, to succumb is quite venial. The lives of their saints are full of the most austere acts of virtue and mortification of the flesh commencing from the cradle, which are certainly calculated to make the ordinary mortal abandon the task of imitation in despair; and their religion, though it fails here, has, in my opinion, considerable influence for good in their minds in other respects; more at least than the forms of religion practised by other races, Hindú or Muhammadan, have at the present day in the parts of Hindústan with which I am acquainted. This is not surprising, as the moral teaching to be found in the Buddhist books is of a very high kind: the love of one's neighbour is one of its principles, and this is extended to include even the brute creation. So, again, though good works are balanced against sins, yet their worthlessness, when not done in a humble and reverent spirit, is recognised. In regard to veracity I have found them superior to Hindús; in hearing law

* Of late years the people of lower Pattan, in Láhaul, have got a character for picking and stealing from merchandise in their hands as carriers; but they are a race apart, of mixed blood and religion, descended for the most part from criminals from other countries, who took refuge here from justice in former days. Besides they have been demoralised lately by opportunity and impunity.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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suits I have very rarely had to call witnesses: cross examination usually brought about a perfect agreement as to facts."

Mr. Anderson, however, remarks that the people have altered for the worse in respect of veracity since Mr. Lyall's time.

SECTION C.—TRIBES AND CASTES AND LEADING FAMILIES.

564 144 Caste in Láhaul.

Mr. Lyall, writing in 1869, thus describes the castes in Láhaul:—

"The distribution into castes is as follows:—Thákurs 216, Bráhmans 502, Kanets 4,566, Dágis 360, Lohárs 277, Barárás 10, Sunyárs 3, Hensis 17. The Thákurs are the *jágírdárs* and their offshoots; they are beginning to assert a Rájpút origin, but, in point of fact, are more or less pure Botis or Mongolians by blood. The Bráhmans are only found in Pattan and are descendants of emigrants from Chamba, Láhaul and other countries to the south. The so-called Láhaul Kanets are a mixed race, but the Mongolian element predominates over the Indian. Many of those who live in Pattan are, no doubt, descendants of Kanet settlers from Kúlu and Bangáhal; the rest, and the inhabitants of Gára and Rangloi, are pure Botiás or nearly so; the remaining tribes are also of mixed race; they constitute the lower classes who do not hold regular allotments of land, and subsist in part by serving for wages or by handicrafts. The Dágis have probably the least admixture of Botiá blood of any race in Láhaul; they came from Kúlu in the time of the Rájas, and now act as musicians in the temples and in some of the monasteries. Only a few of the Lohárs now act as blacksmiths; the Barárás are basket-makers; the Hensis are professional musicians, whose daughters act as dancing girls. Every year a number of the Kanets of Pattan spend the winter in washing for gold at Cheling, in Ladákh or on the Zánskár river; they pay a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladákh Government, and earn on an average four tolas or a little more (=1½ to 2 oz.) of pure gold in the season; they form themselves into companies of fifteen or twenty men, and appoint captains of each gang. All classes speak Tibetan, but that spoken in Pattan contains a great admixture of Hindi; each valley also has a distinct dialect of its own. Generally speaking, in Botiá or Tibetan countries, there are no distinctions of caste; there is a class distinction between the agriculturists, who form the great mass of the population, and the artizans, musicians, and others who live by wages; but though this prevents intermarriage, it does not separate the classes in the way that the rules of caste separate different tribes of Hindús. Spiti still resembles other Tibetan countries in this respect. But the people of Láhaul are rapidly adopting the caste system among other Hindú customs. There are only seven regular *lámás* in Láhaul, that is, *lámás* who live always in the monasteries and have no other occupation; but there are 110 of the landholders who own land and cultivate, and have very little of the monk about them, but have taken a vow and are attached as *lámás* to some monastery or other. These are found chiefly in the Gárá country, where also there are seventy-one nuns known by the names of *chomo*. These monks and nuns can all read and write the Tibetan character; one nun can calculate an eclipse: the same building serves for both monastery and nunnery, but is only fully occupied in the winter."

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6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures.

room for further extension of cultivation was left,* the assessment or rating on each house or *jeola* became fixed hard and fast; no one in authority took the trouble to revise it, though of course, as time went on, the proportions of the holdings did not remain exactly the same. Some fields were increased by gradual encroachment on the waste, and a few others changed hands. Sale of land was unknown, or the changes would have been greater.

Original form of holdings of fields (Láhaul).

The only known instances where land has been sold are the fields on which the Moravian Mission house is established. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"There is a custom of leasing fields for one or two harvests for a sum in cash down, which in the language of the country is described as a sale, and this peculiarity of idiom at last Settlement led to the belief that a custom of sale prevailed in Láhaul, though not in any other part of the district. Usufructuary mortgages are not uncommon. I did not come across any instance of a *cháksi* or *káng chumpá* having mortgaged his holding; but the general opinion of the Thákurs and others whom I consulted was that he could not be prevented from so doing, provided that the mortgagee must pay full rent unless he or the mortgagor performed the customary service."

In Láhaul there are in all 1,085 *jeolas* or holdings, the areas of which vary with the status of the holder. The average area is, for a Bráhman, three acres, for a Thákur or Dotoen eight acres, for a Kanet or Tibetan 4½ acres, for Dágis and other low castes 1½ acres.

Rights of the Thákurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothi* in Láhaul.

The *jágír kothis* in Láhaul are three in number—Kolong (or Todpa) held by Thákur Hari Chand; Ghumrang, held by Moti Ram; and Ghondla, held by Hira Chand. Of this last-named *kothi* a half was described in former Settlement papers as resumed; one of the last Rájas of Kúlu did in fact resume half, but practically the whole remained undividedly in possession of the Thákur, who accounted to the Rája for half his collections of all kinds. After Regular Settlement he continued in the same way to exact the old dues and services from all the landholders, and to pay the Government the land-revenue for half the *kothi*, plus *nazarána* on account of the other half. The whole of his payments may be considered to have been of the nature of *nazarána*. The nature of the holdings of arable lands in the *jágír kothis* is as follows:—The whole produce of certain fields is taken by the Thákur; this land is cultivated by farm servants, assisted on certain occasions by gatherings of the regular landholders; it is known as the Thákur's *garhpán* or home farm, and, as a general rule, the greater part of it is situated in villages near which he lives. Other fields are held rent-free as maintenance by his *dotoen*, *i.e.*, by the *dunnewassals*, or junior branches of his family or rent-free in lieu of continuous service by his *cháksis* or family retainers, or by his *káng chumpá* or farm servants.

The great bulk of the fields, however, form the *jeolas* or holdings of the *yulfa* or villagers, which are held subject to payments of *tal*, *i.e.*, rent or revenue, the performance when required of *begár*

* There is of course any amount of waste land in Láhaul, but no cultivation is possible without irrigation; and the land so situated that it can be irrigated by existing channels, or channels easily to be made, has long been fully occupied in the lower and less inclement parts of the country.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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Crops and system of husbandry in Láhaul and Spiti.

In the lower part of Pattan, in Láhaul, a double harvest of barley and buck-wheat is got off the land in the course of the spring, summer, and autumn. In the rest of Láhaul and in Spiti the single crop is sown in May and reaped in September; the system of cultivation is very simple; the field is first well soaked with water turned on from the canal; when the water has disappeared, the seed is scattered broadcast over the surface of the ground, and then ploughed in. Except perhaps a little weeding, nothing more remains to be done but to occasionally let on the water again; without irrigation cultivation is never attempted. Ploughing is done with *chúrú* or hybrid *yáks*, which are stronger and hardier than pure-bred oxen; the pure *yák* is not sufficiently docile. Vegetables are not grown by the people in Láhaul or Spiti, though European vegetables introduced by the Moravian Missionaries at Kyelang, are said to thrive admirably. Spiti has no fruits. In Láhaul apricots are sparsely grown in the Chandra Bhága valley, but the fruit does not ripen at any considerable altitude. There are also a few walnut trees in the same locality. Wild strawberries, a small cherry, a sour apple, and a species of wild gooseberry are also produced in Láhaul.

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Production and consumption of food grains.

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Láhaul is not self-feeding, wheat, barley, and rice being imported from Kúlu; but large quantities are exported towards Tibet in exchange for salt. Barley and buck-wheat are the principal crops. In Pattan, the valley of the united Chandra Bhága, it is possible to get two crops in the same year. The first kind sown is an early kind of barley known as *tangzad*, which ripens in about ten weeks; after it is sown *bosotan*, a kind of buck-wheat, which ripens in two months. This is possible in good years only, and sometimes the buck-wheat does not ripen. Spiti supports its own population and even exports grain in exchange for salt, iron and the like. Mr. Lyall writes: "Major Hay puts the annual export of grain from Spiti at 1,500 *khal*, of which 1,000 went in barter to Tibet,* 250 to Basáhir, and 250 to Rúpshú, in Ladákh. The *Nono*, when pressed by Mr. Egerton, estimated it at 2,000 *khal*. After comparing the best estimate I can make of the total produce with the amount which must be consumed by the population according to the last Census, it is clear that there cannot be much more than 2,000 *khal* available for export from Spiti." The *khal* may be taken as a little under 20 seers.

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SECTION B.—LIVE-STOCK.

Live-stock in Láhaul and Spiti.

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In Láhaul sheep and goats are kept both for the sake of their flesh and wool, and for the carrying trade between India and Tibet. The usual load of a sheep or goat is about 24 to 30lbs. In winter most of the flocks move with their owners into Kúlu. Mr. Lyall estimates their number at 16,000 head. The Spiti landholders, not being engaged in the carrying trade, keep only a few sheep or goats,

* It is not sold, but is bartered or exchanged at fixed customary rates for wool and salt. In these countries all trade was formerly conducted in this way; the equivalent value of each article in terms of other articles of trade being fixed, and remaining unchanged for generations.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter IV, C.

Occupations, Industries and Commerce.

Dhár or sheep-runs of Gaddí and Kolí shepherds in Láhaul.

before we took the country, were seldom if ever used. Bakhtáwar of Lála, a leading shepherd of Kángra, obtained from Mr. Barnes the privilege of grazing the unoccupied runs in this country. An almost equally large tract at the head of the Bhága valley has been held for generations by another Gaddí family, which obtained a similar grant from the Thákur of Kyelang. Both these families have of late years begun to take a fee from the numerous shepherds who join them in grazing these lands. The runs held by the Kolí (or Kúlu) shepherds all lie between *purána* Koksar and Ghondla, in the Chandra valley. The Gaddí shepherds pay one or more sheep for each run to the Thákur of the *kothí* or to the *négi* or *wazír*. This tax is known as the *kar*, or in the Láhaulí language as *rigatal*. In most cases the amount first fixed seems to have remained unchanged ever after. The Rája of Kúlu excused the Kolí shepherds from this tax, as they paid one anna per head per annum on all sheep and goats, which was collected in Kúlu. The Láhaulís now wish to see the Kolí shepherds taxed like the Gaddís; but the former argue that Mr. Barnes at Settlement included an equivalent for all grazing fees, whether in Kúlu or Láhaul, in their assessment of the land-revenue. Most of the Gaddí shepherds also give a sheep or two under the name of *bhaggati* to the men of the village next below their run. Such sheep are sacrificed and eaten in a village feast at which the shepherds attend. The fee appears to have been originally given freely to secure good will, but it is now considered a right, which could be enforced. Where the grazing ground above a village is of small extent, it is all the *chárá* or private grazing of the villagers, into which they do not permit the foreign shepherds to intrude; but in some years they permit a stray flock to squat there for a consideration. The flocks from Chamba mostly enter Láhaul by the Kukti pass, which descends into Jhobrang *kothí*. The passage of so many is something of a grievance, so by old custom the shepherds pay the men of the *kothí* one sheep per *ban* or *dhár* under the name of *batokará*. In the same way they pay toll for crossing certain *jhúlas*, or swinging bridges, to the men of the villages who erect them, under the name of *alokará*. For instance, the Jhobrang men take one sheep per *vand*, or division of a *ban*, from all who cross their *jhúla*.

The Gaddí or Kolí shepherds never penetrated to Spiti; many of them would be glad now to be allowed to graze in the upper end of the valley, but the Spiti men strongly oppose their being admitted, on the grounds that the grass is scanty, and all required for their own flocks and herds. There is one solitary sheep-run on the Spiti side of the Kanzám pass known as Máran or Shitíká, which is held by men of Jagatsukh *phátí* in Kúlu, who usually let it to a Gaddí shepherd.

SECTION C.—OCCUPATIONS, INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

Occupations.

The Láhaulís are very industrious; they work harder than the people of Kúlu, and are generally more intelligent. This may be

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

the result of greater intercourse with the world, for their geographical position made them the principal carriers between India and Tibet. Many of them leave their homes for the winter, which they spend in Kúlu or in Simla, engaging themselves as labourers, and that even when they are in fair circumstances. They bring back money, but it is not spent on luxuries. Their food, however, has improved, more meat being eaten now than before. The men engage for the most part in trade, while the women attend to the cultivation, carry loads, and do most of the hard work in Láhaul itself.

Handicrafts.

The handicraftsmen of Spiti are the cleverest of the Kúlu subdivision. Captain Harcourt mentions their steel bits, buckles and stirrups as specially worthy of note; and Mr. Louis Dane remarks that the puzzle locks made by the Spiti blacksmiths are very ingenious. The Spiti cloth, too, is particularly good. It is of several descriptions. The strongest and thickest is made in narrow lengths furred or flushed on one side, and is very durable and wonderfully cheap. A second variety is rather fine and more expensive, while a third, woven from goat's-hair, is in much demand among European residents in Kúlu. Moorcroft records that "2,752 pieces of cloth are annually fabricated in Spiti, of which 1,600 are used in home consumption, and the rest exported to the extent of 13,140 yards." This was written in 1820, but Captain Harcourt imagines "that the manufacture has not at all retrograded. Shoes," he continues, "are imported into both Spiti and Láhaul from the plains, but winter boots are made in Spiti. Sheep-skins with the wool on are prepared very skilfully both in Spiti and Láhaul."

Commerce.

The Láhaulís are the most enterprising traders of the Kúlu subdivision. Collecting their merchandise from Ladákh and the countries of Central Asia, they pass annually in large numbers towards the close of the summer into Kúlu, driving before them flocks of sheep and goats, on the backs of which their wares are packed. The principal items of their trade are borax, *pashm*, or shawl-wool, raw and worked into cloth (*pattu*). These they sell in Kúlu, buying for the return journey in the spring, brass and copper vessels, sugar, wheat, rice, tobacco, dried apricots from Balti, pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, and onions. The winter they spend in Kúlu. Mr. Lyall remarks that "at the present day the Láhaulís trade almost entirely with the people of Rúpshú in Ladákh and Rudokh in Tibet. Borax, *pashm* and wool are the principal imports; they say they find the trade with Léh and countries beyond unprofitable. In the summer large flocks of sheep from Rúpshú of the big breed called Haniá are driven to Dárcha, in Láhaul, and there shorn; the Láhaulís meet the shepherds there, and exchange grain, &c., for wool at certain customary rates of barter."

The people of Spiti are less enterprising, and dislike leaving their valley. Occasionally, however, parties of men set off for Ladákh, Basáhir and Kúlu, and there dispose of their wares, receiving payment either in money or kind. The exports are cereals, manufactured cloth, half-bred *yáks* and *yák's* tails. The imports are salt, madder, tobacco, tea from Lhásá, sheep's wool, turquoises, amber, waterpails

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

is very natural, for as has been pointed out in the paper on the Kêsar-Myths, **the Pre-Buddhist Religion must have been a system of sun and nature worship.** Now it is the sun, who creates the four points of the compass. All of them are different manifestations of the sun and hence the importance attached to them in a physiological religion. This fact suggests a solution to the difficult problem of explaining the ancient mystic emblem of the **Bon Religion, yungdrung** 卐. This emblem was in my view invented to represent the sun as the creator of East, South, West and North, the little mark at the end of each line indicating the inclination of the sun to proceed from one point to the other.

It is not an easy matter to give a satisfactory explanation of the word *yungdrung*, but I dare to offer one, in favor of which there is at least some probability. In the Kêsar-Myths **an old name of the sun, bya Khyung dkrung nyima,** occurs. This means literally 'the bird *Khyung*, the disc, the sun.' In course of time the name **Khyung dkrung** may have degenerated to become *yyungdrung*, especially at a time when the idea of the emblem had ceased to be generally understood. Laws of sound cannot be of much avail here, because we are dealing with a proper noun. A few suggestions, however, might be made in favor of this derivation:— (1) a word *yyung* is absolutely non-existing and cannot be found in any dictionary; (2) there exist a few cases of *k* being dropped when preceding *y*, thus *kyang* = *yang*, *kyi* = *yi*, *kyin* = *yin*; (3) there is only a very slight, hardly perceptible, difference in the pronunciation of *dkrung* and *drung*. Of course, this explanation of the emblem rests on the theory, that it is always the same sun, which appears in the East every morning, and is in opposition to the theory shown in Song No. I. B. 7, *post*, p. 135. However, the study of other physiological religions has proved plainly that the most contradictory theories may dwell in them side by side.

While on the point of derivation; in regard to the change from *khyung* to *yyung*, it may be compared also to the following corresponding words in Jäschke's *Tibetan Dictionary*: *khyabpa-yabpa*, both 'cover' in Ladakhi; *'akhyarba-yarba*, both 'go astray;' *'akhyampa-yamyom*, both 'be unsteady;' *akhyigspa*, 'to fetter;' *yyigspa*, 'to be hindered;' *'akhyurba*, 'to be separated;' *yurba* or *yurma*, 'pull out' (weeds, *etc.*); *'akhyompa*, 'to wave;' *yompa*, 'be swinging,' swing The *y* of *yyung* and *yyigspa* is a silent prefixed letter and is often omitted in writing.

In the figures *a* and *b* below is shown the *yyungdrung* in both positions: the natural and the reversed. The Rev. A. W. Heyde of Ghûm tells me that the *yyungdrung* as a monogram is said to be composed of the two syllables 卍 *sû* and 卐 *ti*, *suti* = *svasti*.

a

b

According to Waddell, *Lamaism in Tibet*, both the established Buddhist church and the adherents to the Bon Religion have a *yyungdrung* of their own, the one under *a* being the emblem of Lamaism, that under *b* of the Bon Religion. It is most natural that *a* alone should correspond to the actual course of the sun, for it is probably the older one. Indian Buddhist missionaries may have fought in vain against the use of the symbol, and finally agreed to introduce it into their own system by regarding it as a monogram, containing the three syllables *su asti* in Indian characters. Afterwards in opposition to Buddhism and at a time when the leading ideas of the once physiological religion had vanished, Bon priests made the emblem turn the other way; just as the custom of circumambulation was altered by the Bonpas from right to left.

[See source No 10 in Tibet File AJ1 -- Analyst]

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

MAN

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ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

With Plate M.

Tibet: Disposal of the Dead. Singh.

Disposal of the Dead by Mutilation in Spiti (W. Tibet). *By Dr. Bhagwan Singh.*

133 634 The district called Spiti is now under British administration, and forms a part of the Kangra District in the Punjab. On all sides it is surrounded by the snowy ranges of the inner Himalayas. The whole of this country lies on the banks of the Spiti river, which in turn is a tributary of the Sutlej. The altitude of Spiti is from 9,000 feet to 14,000 feet above sea level. **149**

About a century ago Spiti was a part of Central Tibet, since when it was annexed by the then 779 Raja of Kashmir, and subsequently taken over by the British Government. The inhabitants follow 144 the Buddhist faith as practised in Tibet, and are of Mongolian origin, with an admixture of Aryan 177 blood. Practically all their customs are derived from the usages of pure Tibetans.

764 I propose in this article to give an account of one special mode of disposing of the dead—disposal by mutilation. As has been already stated by the Rev. Walter Asboe, in his account of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, there are four methods employed when disposing of the dead. They are (1) Mutilation of the corpse by chopping it in pieces; (2) Cremation on a funeral pyre; (3) Burial in the earth; and (4) Throwing the corpse into the water.

766 I was informed that whilst the corpses of laymen may be disposed of in any of the four ways already mentioned, ecclesiastics are always cremated on a funeral oven made of stone or earth in the form of a square. This applies especially to Spiti, for in other parts of Tibet both clergy and laymen alike are cremated after death on a funeral pyre of logs.

764 793 The most propitious time for mutilating corpses is when the harvesting and winnowing operations are performed, whilst at other seasons of the year the mode of disposal is determined by the lamas (priests) who consult their religious books for the most auspicious method.

The site chosen for the mutilation ceremony is usually a good distance from the village. Here again the lamas are consulted as to the most propitious position—whether it should be the north, south, east, or west of the village.

000 During the month of August, 1932, I went on a medical tour to Spiti, and I was fortunate in visiting a village where the mutilation ceremony was performed.

On August 26th I reached a village called Manay, situated on the right bank of the Spiti River. On arrival there about midday, I was informed that a young man suffering from pains in the abdomen had died early that morning.

On inquiry, the villagers told me that the day before my arrival the deceased went with some people from the same village to repair a road running between Pow and Manay. Whilst lifting a boulder which had obstructed the road, he felt slight pains in his belly, causing him to abandon his work and proceed home. These pains increased in severity, followed by vomiting and acute constipation. The pains were spasmodic, and localized in the region of the navel, and he was unable to lie on his back, but remained in a sitting posture until his death.

1/1 [See source # 13 in AJ1 Tibet AJ1 -- Analy.]

A Court in Lahul

Buddhism entered Lahul from the south in the eighth century. In the twelfth, Tibetan Buddhism, with its trappings of Lamaism, came down from the north. About the same time, Aryan Hinduism came up from the south. These two religions lived peacefully side by side and together wiped out the earlier nature worship and its ugly practice of human sacrifices.

Though I said that Lahul, in its relation to India, is a foreign land, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that Lahul is an in-between land owing its allegiance to India, its culture to Tibet. But the political ties are winning out. Today Lahulis are even taking Indian names so as to have better standing along the trade routes that tie more tightly to India with each passing year.

The features of the Lahuli people, particularly the women, are oriental. The women wear dark, tight-fitting trousers over which is a coarse, long-sleeved dress, tight at the waist and having a full skirt. They carry the load of work in the fields, as I have said. The day I reached Kyelang there were a few men plowing with a dzo (a cross between a yak and a cow). They were singing plaintive folk songs as they worked. But a deep silence hung over most of the fields, where the women were cultivating. Each was bent low, swinging a short-handled adz with an easy rhythm. Later in the day they came in from the fields with huge bundles of barley and buckwheat tied in slings and thrown over their shoulders. Others had on their backs large woven baskets, looking like inverted cones and filled with grass and vegetables. Now they walked stooped and bent, like old crippled people. But when I came on them suddenly, they giggled like schoolgirls, showing beautiful white teeth.

These Lahulis, who in all respects are dominantly Tibetan, are looked down upon by the real Tibetans. One reason for it is that the Lahuli is a half-breed. India has touched him and affected him. It has to a degree diluted his Tibetan blood and altered his Tibetan culture. He stands somewhere in between two ancient peoples, not passionately a part of either. Tibetans, therefore, consider Lahulis inferior.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

worked it into odd shapes—tall columns, peaked cones, cathedral-like towers. Weird formations stood in stately rows along the skylines for miles on end. And one massive butte, streaked with color, towered over Gongrechen Pass.

On the pass was an *obos* flying dozens of prayer flags. Ram Chand, one of the muleteers, brought a new streamer in his pocket. He stopped at the *obos* and reverently added it to the collection. His was a prayer for safe passage for himself.

My muleteers never failed to perform the ritual. Neither did Budh Ram or Man Das. Rup Singh went about it eagerly, doing with vim and vigor what most did in a perfunctory way.

The habit is deeply engrained. It goes back to the ancient religion of the Himalayas, to the practice of the Shaman religion. Shamanism was a form of animism that is traceable in the rites of North American Indians. One cult piled stones on passes and other dangerous places to appease the spirit of the pass. Hinduism came up from the south; Buddhism came down from the north. The new institutions of religion absorbed the old. Shamanistic elements, including the *obos*, were taken over by the new churches. Thousands of years ago men piled stones at the dangerous places; they pile stones there today, and will pile stones there tomorrow. For the old superstition is so strong it survives all religious change. And today the lamas indeed teach the old and young alike that this ancient superstition should always be observed.

Another rite is performed on the passes where poison works up into a potent force and often strikes men and animals down. It is a shout that every traveler gives as he reaches the highest point. *Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo* is the Tibetan version—Let the gods conquer. It rings from the lips of every traveler, young and old. I heard Rahul, Budh Ram, Man Das, Rup Singh and the other muleteers shout it. On pass after pass the same words rang out—*Ki-ki so-so lha gyalo.*

I had seen enough, as we neared the end of the trek, to ap-

779 This, in barest summary, was the teaching of Buddha; and it
177 became the main religion of India for the four centuries beginning in 300 B.C. Later it became corrupt and in India was supplanted mainly by Hinduism and by the faith of Islam. Buddhism moved south, east, and north. By 243 B.C. it had come to Ladakh and by A.D. 400 was the established religion there. It gradually spread north, going to Tibet about the middle of the seventh century. Meanwhile Buddhism, as Bell in *The Religion of Tibet*[1] shows, had absorbed much of the magic, mythology, rituals, and metaphysics of Lamaism and became clothed in garments that Buddha himself would not have recognized. But the central core of the religion was intact—the "Noble Eightfold Path." And the doctrine of reincarnation, originally derived from Hinduism, continued to flourish.

779 But the doctrine of reincarnation took a special twist in Tibet.
775 In the fifteenth century it was especially adapted to maintain the
792 authority of the priesthood and perpetuate the power of the
177 lamas in a peaceful way. The theory was developed that each Grand Lama was at once reborn in order to resume his life's work. The soul of the deceased lama took possession of a boy born shortly after his death. The problem was to identify the boy, raise him in the faith, keep his power in a regency until his maturity, and then turn over the power to him. The line of authority thus became clear. There was now no longer any contest among ambitious lamas who wanted to be spiritual leader of all Buddhism. The discovery of the baby to whom the soul of the deceased had passed answered all the questions and settled all the quarrels.

By the year 1542 this system had been adopted in Tibet for selection of the Dalai Lama. And it then became the method for determining the succession of spiritual sovereignty throughout the various lower echelons. The head of every monastery became an Incarnate Lama, who was the reincarnation of the holy man who had originally established the monastery. That is what hap-

[1] [See Source NO.4, AJ1 Tibet AJ1- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

pened at Hemis. The boy of eleven with whom we stayed at Hemis is the sixth Incarnate Lama of Hemis, the reincarnation of Stagtsang Raspa, who founded the monastery. And Phuntzog, his teacher, finally told me the secrets of his discovery.

The boy is short for a lad of eleven. His face is Mongol—sensitive, expressive, with eyes that are quick and alert. His hair is black and close-cropped. He wears shoes turned up at the end, a dark red robe without sleeves, and a yellow shirt. He came out to greet us as we sat on the porch talking with Phuntzog. Rahul, a devout Buddhist, touched the boy's feet with his hands and gave him the salutation reserved for an Incarnate Lama, "Peace be with Thee, Most Blessed One."

The boy sat for a while and joined in the conversation. But his participation was at a very formal level, as is all his discourse with strangers during the regency. I asked, "What books are you studying now?"

He murmured an answer which was audible only to his Lobon, who then addressed the Rinpoche's answer to us. The boy stood stiffly for a minute or so and then turned and ran into the house. The windows of his room had small panes, which were covered with cloth and isinglass and opened on the porch. Soon I saw one of them swing open and Rinpoche's head come out. As soon as he saw me watching him, he ducked back. Over and again it happened, the Rinpoche peeking as any eleven-year-old would do to see what was going on, who these strangers were, what they wore, and the like. Soon he raced across the porch after a tiny dog, caught up with it, gave it a healthy kick, and then raced back across the porch into the house.

Rinpoche had one intimate playmate, a novitiate in his teens, who came out of the house with the boy. This playmate was a tall, gangling chap with heavy eyebrows and dark, matted hair cut close. His red robe came only to his knees, and the toes of his bare feet looked like talons. Rinpoche gave him an order, and the young man raced into the garden, where Rinpoche's toys were

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

horse to fetch her back. But if she returns the horse and does not come, that is the end of it. The divorce is final. The wife in a polyandric marriage, on the death of her eldest husband, can get a divorce from the younger brothers by tying a thread to the finger of the deceased and to her finger and then cutting the thread.

Though marriage is a concern of the lamas, divorce is purely a concern of the families.

This was the story of polyandry and of the *magpa* that I heard discussed along the trails and in the villages of Ladakh. But I wanted to see for myself how the institutions flourished and functioned.

I learned that the polyandry system breeds prostitution. There are in Ladakh about as many women as there are men. In Leh, which has a population of 4,000, the men and women are about equal in numbers. There are sixty prostitutes in Leh. They cater to the caravans and to the Army garrison.

I also learned that polyandry among Buddhists has increased the flow of Buddhist women into Moslem marriages. There is an ancient mosque in Leh serving the religious needs of Moslems who travel the caravan routes. Today about half the people of Leh are Moslems. Moslems are polygamous, in theory at least, and take as many wives as their economic conditions permit. In Ladakh that usually means that a Moslem has only one wife, for women are expensive there as elsewhere. Buddhist women, left out of a polyandric marriage and not choosing prostitution, turn to the Moslem men and take their Buddhist charms and good-luck pieces with them. To all outward appearances they become Moslems. The Moslem priest makes them wear a large piece of cloth under their hats and over their shoulders on threat that if they do not do so their hair will turn to snakes when they die. Buddhist women turning to Moslems for marriage, though outwardly Moslems, are probably Buddhists in their hearts for the rest of their

lives. For the beliefs and superstitions instilled by the lamas since their girlhood are not easily displaced.

I also learned that perhaps 50 per cent of the polyandric marriages are happy ones. Many are not. One *magpa* affair I ran into is an unhappy one. This is the case of the Tingzingpa family of Khalatse below Leh. The man, imported into the family to provide the missing male line of descent, is in love not with the elder sister but with the younger one. The older sister is left out in the cold. She receives no husbandly attentions. In August 1951 she was planning to leave the home, go to Leh, and marry a Moslem.

The wife in a polyandric marriage, like a *magpa*, often has her favorites. I also found an example of that in Khalatse. The man's name is Thundup Drambuchanpa. He is a disconsolate, middle-aged man with five brothers. They are married to Phuti. Thundup thought he had first claim to Phuti. After all, he owned the whole family inheritance. It was he who married Phuti. His brothers were only the beneficiaries of his marriage. They should occupy second place and stay in the background. Not so. His youngest brother, Rigzen, had taken over. He got all the attention, all the affection of Phuti. Thundup was mad, thoroughly mad. Phuti and Rigzen would not even let him eat at the same table with them. He had to wait to eat until they finished. Then he got only the leftovers, and they were cold.

"Is that just?" he asked. "Why does not Rigzen leave?"

But Rigzen, with the connivance of Phuti, was there to stay. He had taken over the management of the farm and was squeezing Thundup out.

The reverse happened to Wangyal of Leh. He was isolated, in fact quarantined, from the family life. The wife gave all her devotion to the elder brother. When that happens in Ladakh, the younger brother commonly leaves the family. Some become coolies; others seek work in Yarkand, Kyelang, Srinagar, Manali; others become lamas. Wangyal did not want to do any of those things. The new law of Kashmir declared polyandry illegal; it

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Monasteries send their Incarnate Lamas to Lhasa for ten years of schooling. When they come back, will they not be either indoctrinated in Communist theories or, at least, not hostile to Communist influence? 792 648

The oracle at Lhasa tells each monastery where to find the reincarnation. That oracle will now be Communist. Will he not use his power to select Incarnate Lamas from friendly sources?

Millions upon millions look to the Dalai Lama as spiritual head of the church. The measure of their resistance to Communism may be dependent on the word from him. As Bakula told me, "Buddhism has a great hold on our people. It is the most important thing in their lives—more important than economic welfare, sanitation, modernization. Our people are interested primarily in matters spiritual."

The Chinese Communists, acting as pawns for Soviet Russia, now stand in a strategic position to exploit that religious situation to the limit. Meanwhile they do not remain idle. From reports that spilled over the Indian-Tibetan border in 1951, the Chinese Communists initially gained some prestige in the eyes of the peasants. They constructed roads and built new buildings. They drew up plans for the industrialization of Tibet. Soviet technicians were "invited" to participate. One of the first projects was a woolen mill. Another was a coal mine. The mill is under construction; the mine is operating. And Soviet technicians are already combing Tibet for uranium, gold, copper, coal, and iron-ore deposits said to be rich and yet to date never developed or exploited. To a country long under the deadening influence of feudalism, where nothing changed from century to century, any improvement marks the beginning of a new era. Moreover, the expulsion of the raiding Kasak bandits brought the Communist troops new prestige. By that act alone they had, in the eyes of the Tibetan peasant, gained credit as liberators. 648 177• [579]

But the power of the Buddhist priesthood, when allied against Communist forces, may be considerable. The lamas started an 648 792 208

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

and warm water. There is something very ludicrous in the sight of an aged be-whiskered man-servant, coming to his daily work with his long hair hanging round his shoulders to dry, but the sun soon does its work, and the hair can be well oiled with apricot or mustard-oil, and plaited up again. The ordinary fur-lined Ladaki hat with its turned-up corners is of Indian origin, though the long robe comes from China. If the corner of the hat is turned down, it signifies that the wearer is in mourning; while if the whole thing is worn jauntily at an angle, it is the sign of a true dandy. Before the great war the words "Made in Germany" were often seen on a hat, generally upside down, but to the wearer it was illegible, and regarded as a nice pattern selected from the edge of the roll of cloth. It is quite good manners to use the corners of one's dress as a handkerchief, turning it up to blow the nose on the inner side. When a great occasion demands smart clothing, it is also quite correct to borrow whatever is necessary from a friend.

The outstanding feature of a Ladaki woman's appearance is the extraordinary arrangement of hair and head-dress. The latter is called a *perag*, the first part of the word being an old name for turquoise.

In olden times the women of this country wore a round head-dress like that which adorns the lady of Purig or of Central Tibet, until a Ladaki King brought his royal consort from a small state in the closed land where the *perag* was the national head-dress, and the ladies of his realm at once copied their new Queen. The *perag* consists of a central elongated piece of leather, covered with red cloth, converging slowly to a long narrow point below the waist behind, and a shorter blunt one in front. The whole thing is supposed to represent a snake, and the front part appearing over the forehead certainly resembles the head of the cobra. On this bright red background rows of turquoise matrix are sewn, often ending in front with a chased gold and silver ornament,

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

up to enhance the exhibition, which is loudly applauded. 541
When all have ridden the course, they canter back and repeat from the beginning. This goes on for two or three days, and Ladakis find it interesting to the end. Sometimes the amusement becomes intense, when, for instance, a horse has shed his rider, because the saddle had not been fixed on firmly, and the racer finishes his course with empty back.

Games on horseback are most desirable at this altitude, 576
where human lungs find scarcely enough oxygen for strenuous 177 ●
exertion, and Ladak is adding a Yarkandi equestrian game to its repertoire. No sides are picked, but there is a goal. A dead sheep is thrown on to the ground. At one time no doubt they played with a live animal, for Yarkandis do not think much about "Prevention of Cruelty to Animals" Societies. A man catches up the sheep as best he can and then rides with it for the goal. If he accomplishes this, he may look forward to many a big supper of mutton, but all the other horsemen try to make this impossible. The falls, pullings, and pushings this piece of mutton gets, should go far to make it tender, whatever its age may be.

Another sport which the Ladakis thoroughly enjoy is arrow 576
shooting. This always takes place in the spring, just before [795]
the fields are sown, the Mohammedans and the Buddhists having each their own archery meeting. A garden or an enclosure with trees round an open space is chosen, at one end of which a heap of earth is piled up about four feet high. Into the centre of this is stuck a bull's-eye, about the size of a china plate and made of white clay. At the opposite end, about twenty yards from the target, are several tents, nicely decorated, in which sit those members of their respective community, who, by subscribing towards the shoot, have bought themselves the right to be present and take part. Others may join in, but are there on sufferance, and if they have not paid, even superb shooting will not obtain th

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

779 795 The Southern school of Buddhism, called Hinayana (the small vehicle, for only the few can expect to reach Nirvana), still believes this, but the time came when a split occurred, and as a result Northern Buddhism or Mahayana Buddhism arose. "The Buddhist cannot rid himself of the feeling that if there are consequences of deeds to be borne, there must be someone to bear them." For ordinary men and women the gospel of Buddha was only a message of despair, for the bands which bound them to the Wheel of Existence were far too tight for them to loosen. This need of the human heart for a Saviour resulted in the Mahayana doctrine, so-called because it means the greater vehicle or means by which every Buddhist may hope one day to attain the bliss of Nirvana. First Buddha himself was regarded as this Saviour, and later others were ranked with him to help struggling humanity towards the final goal. The Buddha had the perfect right to enter a well-earned Nirvana, but compassion for men and women, beasts and demons, made him renounce this until he had aided all things living to enter this same bliss with him. Thus arose the beautiful story of Avolakita, the all-merciful one, the all-pitying one, to which we shall refer later and of whom the ●177 797 Dalai Lama is the living representative. Unfortunately this new doctrine also opened the door to all sorts of national gods and demons which Buddhism encountered in its spread, for now, at about the end of the first century, Buddhism became a thoroughly missionary religion, carrying this good news of possible redemption far and wide. It reached Tibet about the middle of the 7th century, where it found the old *Bon Chos*, which was a Shamanistic devil-dancing religion. The followers of the new faith having subdued those of the old, then incorporated much of the old religion in their own, thus producing Lamaism. This consists therefore of a substratum of real Buddhist philosophy understood by the few, and a large proportion of demonology which appeals to the unlearned masses.

* [IE, ATTAINMENT OF SALVATION ALONE -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XVII

Rites & Ceremonies

HAVING considered general every-day methods of obtaining merit, let us turn our attention to the more specific and seasonal means, doing so in the order in which they occur annually. This makes it necessary to say a few words about the Buddhist Calendar, which seems to have been derived from the Chinese, and consists of sixty-year cycles, which are subdivided into five periods of twelve years each. The longer periods are named after the Buddhist elements of wood, fire, earth, iron and water, whilst the single years are called after various animals, such as mouse, ox, tiger or hare. The Ladaki does not therefore reckon his years in decades, but in dozens, so that when asked his age, he may inform you that, having been born in the sheep year of the water period, he must be three dozen and six year's old. Their year consists of three hundred and sixty days divided into lunar months, which the word for month, *zlaba*, pronounced *dawa*, implies. As this does not quite fit with the course of the sun, the Ladaki feels that he must try to humour him and his aberrations, by dropping days here and adding months there. He certainly feels that the sun needs his aid at times, for when an eclipse occurs, he shouts at the top of his voice to scare off "the dragon from completely swallowing the sun." Their week, like ours, consists of seven days, which are devoted to deities similar to our own, such as Sunday and Monday to Sun and Moon. They have noticed that Mercury looks like a red eye, so Tuesday is called the day of the red eye. Wednesday is the day of

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805 Venus, whilst Thursday, the day of the dagger, must belong to the god of War. Jupiter and Saturn, even in Ladak, claim Friday and Saturday. The tenth day being the birthday of Padma Sambhava, their patron saint, who conquered all their demons, is regarded as holy.

796 The date of the new year varies, indeed in their topsy-turvy country they have two New Year days, one being the
[177] Ladaki, the other the Tibetan, both of which are celebrated,
173 although for practical purposes the latter is used. The genesis of the Ladaki New Year is interesting. King Jamyang desired to wage war against the neighbouring kingdom of Purig, but was informed by the horologist that his venture would not be successful unless deferred till after New Year's day. Not wishing to wait, and no doubt thinking the stupid old sun would not notice, he decided that the New Year
796 should begin two months earlier. His anniversary usually
788 falls some time in December. It is chiefly marked by evening illuminations, for every Buddhist house has a row of tiny lamps, small wicks in little receptacles of oil, outlining either window-sill, verandah, or roof, or all three, according to the state of the family exchequer, for kerosene is an expensive commodity by the time the former is carried up to Leh; and of mustard oil and that expressed from apricot kernels there
[361] is very little. As most Tibetan villages are built in tiers up the hillside in order to leave the flatter terraces for cultivation, their rows of little lights give quite a fairyland effect. Dominating the whole in Leh is the fine old castle with its row of illuminations, while still higher are the twinkling lights round the crazy verandah of the "Tsemo" or small monastery,
796 perched on its high crags. The official New Year occurs later, and its chief feature is the celebration of *Dosmoche*, the great festival of the Scapegoat. This ceremony varies in different localities. In Leh a huge erection is made of sticks, tied together by twine, and looking like a vastly over-rigged mast. The component parts are prepared previously by the

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earflaps, men and children in their turned-up caps, dotted about with Mussulmans in turbans, old and young all eager and expectant, for they love a *ltadmo*.

Our annual friends opens the programme, a man on stilts concealed by long draperies, not very realistic, but a source of great delight to the child-like audience. He is followed by two large birds, with long necks (held up by an arm of the masquerader within) and vulture-like heads and beaks, the bodies covered with sheepskins. These extraordinary animals, programmed as "chicken," hop about, peck at each other, clean their feathers, and attend to their personal *shikar*, each action provoking a fresh outburst of amusement from the crowd.

Next comes a lion dance, in which two men are covered with a large skin, from which their human booted legs protrude as fore and hind legs in the most unabashed fashion. The face consists of a mask, and its attendants introduce it with antics of their own. The unwieldly lion makes grotesque leaps and bounds, and finally climbs up on to a table. The play was brought to Leh from Chinese Turkestan, where several tables are piled up high, and our nimble lion reaches the topmost. In Leh, however, a far more serious *dénouement* is achieved, for, with a series of rolls and contortions, a baby lion is born, to the unbounded delight of the audience, and suddenly appears on the table with its mother (the cub being a child also dressed in a skin). Waddell says that the play of this acrobatic lion was primarily derived from China, and has its origin in the "mythical lion of the Himalayan snows, which is believed to confer fortune on the country where it resides. One of these lions was enticed to China by a wizard, and the crops and cattle prospered as long as it lived, and when it died the Chinese stripped off its skin with which they conduct this dance."

Next comes a dragon dance, also originating from China, where the dragon is deified. It is supposed to follow after a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sea. The boat is cleverly made with a framework of wood and paper from which a cloth valance depends. In the middle a small curtained canopy is erected, through which the lady's head can be dimly discerned, but her manly legs can be seen beneath as her impersonator works the boat, walking sideways here and there, and making the light craft rock and sway and gyrate violently as though in a heavy sea. An attendant guide or guardian and a boatman with an oar both accompany the lady, but outside the boat, so that the manipulations of the external oar add to the ludicrous effect produced, which in the bonfire light is grotesquely realistic and extraordinarily funny. As the boat approaches the Amban, the boatman makes a grave error in his nautical activities, and the boat with its precious occupant totters dizzily down to stillness. However it is not sunk to the depths of the ocean, for, after the Amban has manifested his anger and the boatman received a beating, the gay craft rises and once more rocks and sways, and, encountering boisterous seas, again vanishes into the distance, leaving the European element of the audience at least struggling between laughter and memories of *mal-de-mer*.

This little drama and that of the lion and dragon were brought to Leh by traders and servants of sahibs who travelled to Yarkand. "The Amban and the Boat" so impressed one of the latter when he saw it at Kashgar, that he introduced it into Leh for the first time as a fit entertainment for the wedding festivities of a friend, who, we hope, did not have to send for his bride across such perilous seas.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 doctrinal truths, staying for some months. After this I
159 stayed in Gongkar Dechos until the Sheep year, and in the year of the Firemonkey I went to see the Galwa Rinpoche,
[554] that is the Dalai Lama. Having done obeisance to him, he conferred on me the rank of 'San-o-han-too,' which is a Mongolian word, and other honours which are only bestowed on men of high rank. [To show this rank he has an umbrella carried before him, and possesses his own flag.] I was also placed over other *Skushogs* and professors. I thus received such kindness and praise from the Dalai Lama. That year I returned to Ladak, and the next I passed my examination in doctrine. After this I went to the hermitage of Godtsang, where I lived as a hermit, meditated on the doctrines of Saskya Rnyingma and Drugpa, etc., and read the Kangyur and the scriptures of the Lord Buddha, and pondered their meaning. Here I remained for ten years, but in the Firemonkey year I came out of retirement, and from that time onwards I have been travelling about Upper and Lower Ladak and Kulu, visiting my congregations and giving money to a few lamas, and occasionally I stay in a hermitage."

792 Since he wrote this little history he has also made a grand
177 tour through India, Ceylon and Burmah to Lhasa, and has thus seen something of the impact of Western civilization, which interests him greatly. He has always been much attracted by small mechanical toys and Western devices, such as electric torches, clocks, watches, microscopes, etc., and is himself an expert photographer. Some visitors to Hemis were once amused to see on each side of the chief altar in his private apartment a pair of Odol bottles, their bent necks facing each other. When we first visited this room, they were replaced by Southwell jam jars containing artificial flowers. He is interested in Western medical science too, and gave a sum of money to the Doctor Sahib towards getting the operation theatre of the Moravian Mission Hospital in

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

order, so that he might thereby "help blind Buddhists to get their sight." Hence the board outside, declaring it to be "the Raspa Operating Theatre." He himself once came for a temporary stopping to be put into two of his teeth, one of which still remains after seven years. During his time of retirement up the hillside, he also read through our Christian New Testament, as translated into Tibetan, and when he first visited our house, his attention was attracted by a picture of the Last Supper, and he at once asked which was the Apostle John. He can write a good hand in English, and we believe understands far more of the spoken language than he allows to appear. He is the special abbot of the royal family of Leh, and whenever he comes from his monastery, some twenty-three miles away, to make a short stay in his town house at Leh, lamas appear on the roof of the castle to salute him with their long shawms and flageolets. Throughout the whole of his stay, salutations are played in the evening after sunset, when the long boom of the large instruments and the plaintive tones of the smaller ones are particularly pleasing, as they steal through the quiet after the close of day, and also during the early hours of the morning. For this latter réveillé I fear the lamas have no clock, for in summer it seems to take place at any time between two and five a.m., sometimes long before sunrise.

Approaching Leh from the direction of Hemis, a hill suddenly rears itself in the middle of the valley, surmounting which is a monastery, that of Stagna. The head lama of this monastery we first saw at the Hemis festival in 1925; he was then a little boy of six, and we shall refer to him later in the description of that event. He belongs to a special sect, whose name denotes their pale yellow caps, and who are mostly congregated in Spitti.

On another commanding position, and seen from as far up the Indus valley almost as Stagna, is the *dGonpa* of Trigtse, perched on the top of a hill, which marks the end of a spur of

instance it is not a question of materials learned from books. Rather, 533
the sagas have been handed down orally from generation to genera- 539
tion, in the versions peculiar to the particular families concerned.
There is one feature which very clearly differentiates these oral ver- 539
sions of the Kesar saga from the Tibetan literary forms (there appear 771
to be several of these) (1) and from the Mongolian forms based on

1. B. Bergmann's version is called the "Little Gesar," Schmidt's version the "Big Gesar."

the Tibetan literary forms, which, incidentally, are written in prose. This distinguishing feature is the fact that the oral versions contain a religious system that has no relation to Buddhism and is even antagonistic to Buddhism. And this same religious system is to be found likewise in the wedding songs and in the hymns sung at the spring festival. The course of development of the Kesar epic seems 539
to me to be the following one: At first there were only the oral ver- 177
sions cultivated individually in the villages. Then a man who is favorably inclined to Buddhism gathers these materials, makes a collection of them, and, with a great many of his own additions, fashions an epic from them, the Gesar epic. This epic is printed and many copies are circulated, some of which reach the Chinese and the Mongolians. The Mongolians translate the epic into prose and change a number of passages to their taste.

We shall now turn our attention to the published versions of the 539
Kesar saga. The text I have called "Frühlingsmythus der Kesarsaga" 113
/Spring Myth of the Kesar Saga/ was published in Helsinki in 1900. This publication consisted of the Tibetan text with a German translation from two versions (2) which had been taken down from the

2. The girl Zar-ra, who supplied the first Sheh version, also belonged to the caste of the Bhedas there.

Bhedas (caste of musicians) in Sheh, seven miles above Leh. The [564]
publication of what I have called the "Winter Myth" followed in 1902, also in Helsinki. The text of this was again chiefly derived from the Bhedas in Sheh. The missing conclusion was replaced in Khalatse by the version that is current there. This publication contained approximately the content of the saga as it is to be found in Parts Two to Six (3). In Khalatse, situated on the Indus River about

3. To this should be added the story of the hero

18: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1936 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

Though in theory the taking of life and the
779 offering of bloody sacrifices are revolting to the
782 Tibetan Buddhist, the sacrificing of animals goes on unchecked by the Buddhist hierarchy in many parts of Western Tibet.

782 A section of the community, however, reluctant to shed blood when sacrificing to the local deities, makes dough images of animals for sacrificial purposes.

●177 With the advance of civilization and education
782 in the secluded valleys of Western Tibet, bloody sacrifices will no doubt sink into the limbo of forgotten things.

[76 (a)]

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

country, the fields are arranged in terraces, and irrigated by watercourses cut in fan-like formation from a river, mountain torrent, or from glaciers and large accumulations of snow. 241 312

Size of a Farmstead.

The extent of a man's fields is popularly computed in terms of a yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor), or in a dry measure called a 'Kal' (40 lb.) of seed. Thus if one asks a peasant how large is his arable land, he will reply that he possesses land sufficient to plough with one or two yoke of oxen (dzo-ldor) as the case may be, or he may say that his land requires 2 'Kals' (80 lb.) of seed to sow it. It takes one yoke of oxen to plough a field requiring 1 kal of seed to sow it. Computed in terms of Indian survey measurement, this extent of land would be two 'bigars.' 423 241 804

The average amount of land possessed by a single farmer is that which can be ploughed by one yoke of oxen in four days, therefore requiring 4 kals (160 lb.) of seed. The average yield in a good year for each kal of seed sown is tenfold. 423 241

Lha-zhing (Field belonging to a God).

Dispersed throughout the country are fields which from ancient times belong to a local god (Lha-zhing). These are cultivated by the peasants who, at the Buddhist new year (February), and again in May when ploughing begins, have to regale the bearer of the wood image of that god with beer and one measure of barley. The cultivator of these fields may, however, reserve the harvest for his own use. [76]

Alternation of Crops.

Barley is sown two years successively, and the land is manured on the previous autumn or spring. On the third year a crop of wheat is grown, the land being similarly treated with manure. On the fourth year buckwheat is sown, but this does not require manure. Then on the fifth year barley is again sown, and so on. 241

Barley, wheat and buckwheat have been grown for an indefinitely long time, and are indigenous crops, but during the past fifty years rye has been cultivated with marked success. This was introduced by the Moravian mission operating in this country, as also were potatoes, vegetables and fruit trees. [77]

Sometimes an insect destroys the barley soon after it is sown, in which case the people water the unproductive field and then sow more seed by loosening the soil with a small implement like a hoe with a short handle (surmo).

19: Asboe M-3 (no date) 1937 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

five rupees per pony. Provided that the farmer has sufficient fodder to feed his own and his neighbour's cattle, he is glad to get the extra heads in order to increase his supply of manure. 231

Conclusion.

Though the total yield of crops is meagre, as is to be expected in high altitudes and in a practically rainless country, the farmer gets as much out of the land as can well be expected. 241 511

Generally speaking he is very poor, and the prospect of famine is never far removed from him. Were it not for the wool trade carried on between the highlands of Tibet and Lahoul, by way of supplementing the slender harvest he reaps, the Lahouli would be far worse off economically. 439

He does not take kindly to improved methods of agriculture, owing to the conservative attitude of the community as a whole. 241 511 185

The slow penetration of western civilization is, however, leading to a slight increase in agricultural activity, in that Lahoulis are now beginning to open up virgin soil which has lain uncultivated for centuries. 177

At best the struggle for existence in so elevated a region as Lahoul is a real and stern one.

[77(a)]

842 587 562 357 [104] enough, the Tibetans seem to think that it is the husband's fault and they usually take in another man, in the hope that there will be children. Such a man is known as a *porsag*, that is, a man brought in for the purpose of fathering a child. However, when I asked this woman why she had remarried, if it was because she had no children, or because her husband was too old, she said, "No, those are only the official reasons." After I gained her confidence, she told me that she had married the second husband because she needed a servant in the house, and she found it cheaper to have another husband than to have a servant she would have to pay!

581 177 If a Tibetan woman marries a Mohammedan, she has to leave the polyandrous practice and becomes a member of the usual Mohammedan family system. The woman always takes the husband's religion, so that a Moslem girl who marries into a Buddhist family becomes polyandrous.

595 Now it must not be imagined that polygyny (where a man has a number of wives) does not exist in Tibet. One occasionally finds a case as when a young man goes on a long voyage and meets a girl of his choice and his brothers agree to bring her into the house. Thus, in Rupchu, I have seen three brothers sharing two wives, so that anything seems to be possible among the Tibetans and, on the whole, the system seems to work very well.

584 593 588 The children in Tibet are betrothed when they are 10 or 12 years old, usually by the parents. But this is not always the case. Very often the eldest boy chooses a wife himself, and his brothers and the other members of his family have to accept this woman as the common wife; they have no choice in the matter. But there is yet another custom in the Tibetan family which to us Westerners appears extraordinary indeed. As soon as the children are married, the parents are obliged to leave the house and the children take over. The father and mother must go to live in a smaller house, usually on

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

He told me that he treated the following diseases by Western methods: venereal (by far the greatest incidence), skin trouble, round worm, epilepsy, hysteria (mostly in women, especially unmarried ones), paraplegia and hemiplegia (due to syphilis), some cases of leprosy, eye inflammations due to various causes, ear infections, tuberculosis (which was on the increase due to winter promiscuity), but no cancer (at least observed). I discussed polyandry with him in conjunction with his remarks about the hysteria of unmarried women (who were numerous in Lahul because of polyandry, he said) and the promiscuity of the winter dwelling in one room, and he told me that he had had one case of suicide; it was a *no* (younger brother) he told me, who had put an end to his life because he was jealous of his brothers sharing the wife with him. He was thirty seven years old at the time, and there was no doubt that this jealousy was the actual reason for his fatal nervous affliction.

Since Thakur Mangal Chand was easily available in Kyelang, I next went to see him, on the 5th July 1938. An elderly man of over sixty, he had for a long time been Lahul's Forest Officer, but in his old age had turned to medicine and had become quite proficient in it and well known under his Tibetan name of Tashi Dawa. He told me that Tibetan medicine was ayurvedic to some extent, since it was the result of a translation of the Indian texts by Tibetan doctors acting on the orders of King Srong Tsän Gampo (*Srong-bTsan-sGam-po*) in the 7th century A.D. Asked if there was much nervous disease in Lahul, he replied that there was little. Light cases were treated by lama Sönam Tashi whom I had interviewed earlier on, while serious ones came to him. There were relatively more women ill in this manner than men, and hysteria was quite prevalent among them. He could, however, quote some cases of men, too.

Thus there was the case of a lama in Kardang, married polyandrously to a single, common wife with his two elder brothers. As long as they were alive, he was very jealous of them, as he wanted the woman all to himself. He developed a nervous paralysis of the leg which lasted as long as his brothers lived. They died, however, one after the other, so that in the end he was left with the wife alone. From that day onwards, he was cured; his paralysis disappeared and he was able to walk again.

He knew also of another case of an elder brother in the upper part of the Bhaga valley who was hysterically nervous, as he put it, because he could not stand the idea of sharing his wife with his younger brothers. Apparently, everybody in Lahul was not capable of living in polyandry and adapting himself to this form of matrimony.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

in Kashmir was Commissioner for the Government of India jointly with the Wazir for this work.

Under the Wazir-i-Wazaret came the Tehsildar of Leh, responsible for the collection of revenue and assisted by a Naib Tehsildar. Below them, and charged with minor administrative jobs in the villages and along the main roads, were the zehildars, the lumbadars and the kardars. The latter minor officials were responsible for giving Central Asian travellers any assistance that they needed along the Trade Route. They had, however, to be natives of Tibetan extraction.

The ancient Ladaki political organization was still in existence at the time of my visit, but was divested of all power, and only survived because of the prestige which it still enjoyed in the eyes of the people. Thus the king of Ladak (*La-Dwags rGyal-po*), although reduced to the rank of raja of Stog and receiving a small allowance from the Kashmir durbar, was even then looked up to as the country's legitimate ruler.

In his castle of Stog which I visited, I was surprised to see that the king was assisted not only by court officials who had kept the titles of days gone by, but also by a council of ministers calling themselves *Kalön* (*bKa-bLon*). These personages, although without any real power, still met in a legislative assembly of their own; their positions were hereditary and they received the (modest) revenue of the village that each of them lived in. I was told that other offices, such as those of governor of a province or *Lönpo* (*bLon-po*), revenue officer of the Crown or *Nang-dzö* (*Nang-mDzod*), lumbadar or *Tungspun* (*Drung-spun?*) and assistant lumbadar or *Togache* (*T'hoga-ches?*), no longer existed although the descendants of those who had held them hereditarily were still looked upon with some consideration. At social occasions involving only Ladakis, these people were still given privileged positions. I met the Queen on this occasion, and found that, as I had been told, she was a sister of the Thakur of Gungrang in Lahul. She was not living in polyandry as her husband had no brothers, but it was expected that her two boys would eventually take one wife in common, as was the ancient custom.

5. *Land-tenure and economy*

The collection of revenue in Ladak is naturally the responsibility of the Kashmir administration. The basis of assessment of the revenue is a rather arbitrary one, being simply the holding or the house, which is called *zhing-kham* (*Zhing-K'hams*) allotted by the State and which is farmed by a single family unit, the head of the latter being responsible

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
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b) *Polyandry in Ladak*

1. *Generalities*

From the informants and interpreters whom I mention in Appendix 2, acknowledging their services, I heard that polyandry was practised quite intensely in and all around Leh. Asked what the proportion of polyandrous families was to the rest of the Buddhist population (the only one, naturally, among which polyandry was to be found), my informants told me that out of one hundred families, ninety of them lived in this form of matrimony. I enquired about the remaining ten per cent; was it that they did not want polyandry, or that they were not able, for lack of brothers in a family for instance, to follow the prevalent custom? The answer was that both explanations were correct. In some cases, polyandry was not possible because of the composition of the family. But in others, polyandry was deliberately rejected, as something undesirable. There was a growing tendency to this effect, it seemed, in Leh, especially among the better educated, the wealthier and those who had travelled to the big cities in the plains of India.

The tendency to give up polyandry, was not well looked upon by the rest of the community. It was considered all wrong, and parents would disinherit their sons and daughters who refused to live in accordance with the traditional rules of marriage. This was interpreted as showing that the polyandrous Ladaki Buddhists were very moral in their outlook and would not tolerate any laxity in their customs. Nono Tse-P'hün (short for Tseten P'hüntzok), who was my principal interpreter and one of my best informants, although a Christian himself (later, in 1947, he became Tehsildar of Ladak), assured me that the Buddhists were the most moral of all the communities living in Leh, that is the most strict with those of their members who would not conform to the habitual standards of correct and accepted social behaviour.

The problem of what happens to surplus women in a polyandrous society immediately came to mind when I began my investigations. As the proportion of men to women among the polyandrous Buddhists was roughly equal (only thirteen more men than women), it was obvious that if ninety percent of the one thousand two hundred and eighty seven strong community actually practised polyandry, quite a number of unbetrothed women would have to be accounted for. The reply which I got to this question was that, although many men's sisters remained at home as spinsters among the wealthy, in the bulk of the community, unmarried women found Moslem husbands to whom they were only

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 If there are boys in a family, it is the eldest son who inherits the whole holding and the family name, and is the lawful occupier-tenant of either State or tenant *zhing-kham*. He has full rights of enjoyment and disposal which he shares with no one. If there are no boys to inherit the house and family name, then the eldest daughter will take over, provided that she has not married out of the house beforehand. Cases are known, however, in which a daughter married out has been divorced and brought back to the family holding in order to take it over and carry it on intact to another generation.

Marriage in Ladak, as in Lahul, is either *bag-ma* (patrilocal and patrilineal or *mag-pa* (matrilocal and matrilineal). These names are sometimes replaced by the terms *na-ma* (*mNa-ma*) meaning "daughter-in-law", and *bag-po* (*bag-po*) for "bridegroom".

Bag-ma marriage is a fraternally polyandrous one in most cases, all the brothers of the bridegroom becoming automatically husbands of the bride. It is the custom, usually, only to have the elder son and the next eldest one at the ceremony, but it is understood that whatever other boys there are in a family are also married to the wife of the eldest.

Mag-pa marriage can also be polyandrous, if the heiress so desires. But in this case, it is non-fraternal, the woman usually choosing husbands who are unrelated and the secondary ones being generally younger than their predecessors. A man can be *mag-pa* to an heiress and to her sisters, but unless he is formally married to them all, he only has a right of access to the younger ones; they are free at any time to leave the household and to contract *bag-ma* marriages outside.

The institution of the *porjag* exists also in Ladak; such a man is called in if the bride remains childless. It appears, however, that a second such extra man is never brought into a family, it being considered unbefitting to do so, whereas in Lahul there are no such scruples. The custom of taking a wife extra to the one already existing, is also practised in Ladak, the new woman being called *chan-chung* (*Byan-ch'hung*) in such a case. Actually, there is no limit to the amount of wives a man, or men, living in polyandry, may take in. It is, however, not considered proper to have more than four wives at a time – possibly the result of Moslem influence in the country. The formalities of marriage are only observed on the occasion of the first marriage (called *chan-ch'hen* (*Byan-ch'hen*)), while on the occasion of *chan-ch'hung* mentioned above, or of *yang-chung* (*Yang-ch'hung*), taking a third or fourth wife, only *chang* is given to relatives, and that part of the marriage ceremony in which head cloths are put on is performed. The second, third and fourth wives are generally selected from relatives of

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The latter had been married off very early to Sonam of the Takpa household, in *bag-ma*, and Stobgyal had taken Tsering Yangdzen as his wife. He had then moved into the main part of the Tok-Tok house, and the two fathers had taken up their quarters in two small rooms on the second floor. Stobgyal had had two sons with his first wife, Tsering Murup and Tsering Norpel, and these two boys had also married polyandrously to become the rightful occupants of the *k'hang-chen*. They, their wife Chungnid and their two small children, Pandzom and Dok-pa, lived on the first floor, while Stobgyal remained in his quarters, provisionally. It appeared that he had not yet moved into a *k'hang-gu* as he should have done, because he had remarried after having become a widower, and had had five children by his second wife, Lha-dzom.

With so many people about the house, I found conditions a bit strenuous. The kitchen held a certain number of the children, and Lha-dzom was in there cooking. I went in to see her, but was soon driven out by the smoke, which had no chimney by which to escape, and filled the room down to about knee level. I did remain there for a short time to look round, with my head bent down to that height to keep my eyes from watering, but I soon gave it up and retreated to rejoin old Lobsang. We went out to take a photograph in which he, his brother, their son, Chungnid, and Sonam Döndrup, Lha-dzom's second son, agreed to pose, the two last ones with Dok-pa and Gon-po in their arms (see Fig. 37).

Then we went in again, and sat down on carpets in the largest room on the first floor, which happened to be the one in which the *lha-k'hang* was, and had a cup of tea while we continued to discuss their family affairs. I enquired about their fields and the cultivation, the trade and their travels, and heard how their polyandry was regulated. It is from such information from these people and from others that I was able to get a clear picture of the conditions in which polyandry flourished in Ladak.

Lobsang Tok-Tok complained bitterly of the "immorality" of young people in Leh. He said that polyandry was no longer desired by the younger generation, and that this was all due to outside influence from Indian and Turki traders from Sinkiang, and from European missionaries and travellers who were perpetually speaking against the time-honoured custom of polyandrous matrimony such as Ladakis and Tibetans had always practised, and were introducing the "bad habit" of monogamous marriage.

He asked me how it was that we were so wealthy in Europe without

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

information that I wanted on the subject of fathers and sons sharing a wife in Kalatse.

Four days later, on the 8th October 1938, we were in Mulbek, the last village where people of Tibetan cultural affinity are to be found on the way westwards. Here, too, I discovered polyandrous families, and interviewed them through Joseph, but with some difficulty. It appeared that we had now reached a frontier area, one in which culture contact with non-polyandrous people existed and, as is usual in such a case, those practising polyandry were self-conscious about the custom and reluctant to speak about it to strangers. The first of two genealogies which I was able, nevertheless, to take down, is given in Table 36.

We went to this household, called Skya-pa, because a Moslem whom Joseph knew in the bazaar had told us that we would find a *porjag* in it. In the neighbourhood of the house we were, however, stopped by its inmates, who refused to let us approach it. They were a surly lot, the women wearing a sort of diminutive *perak* (*berag*) on their forehead and no woollen ears any longer, the men dressed in the usual Ladaki clothes. They seemed very reluctant even to speak to us, and Joseph had the greatest difficulty in getting anything out of them. They said that we could not go to the house because it was dirty, and only with the worst possible grace, condescended to speak to us where we stood, in the lane leading to their home.

A man called Tsering Chömpel was our informant. He told us that his parents, Tsering P'hüntzok his father, and Ngawang Rolma his mother, lived in the *k'hang-gu*, while he with his wife, their four children and his younger brother, Ishe, lived in the *k'hang-chen*. He told us, too, that his two sisters, Yangdzom and Tsering Rolma, were married out in *bag-ma* to other households, respectively to Tsering of T'hustön-pa household, and Chömpel of Tashi Gompa household.

Asked if these two households were polyandrous, he said no, that they were not. Pressed, he added that polyandry was not practised in Mulbek, and that he himself did not share his wife, Stanzin Kündzom, with Ishe. This was denied later by Joseph, who told me that from friends of his in Mulbek, he knew that polyandry existed there just as much as in the rest of Ladak, but that the people did not like to admit it, were shy to do so, and even somewhat ashamed. When I asked about the rumoured *porjag* said to exist there, needless to say, this was hotly denied. We were asked what our source of information was, which we naturally refused to divulge. Whereupon Tsering Chömpel said to Joseph that his family was being slandered.

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4

595 601 792 polyandrous, thus giving the lie to those of Skya-pa household who said that no one was polyandrous in Mulbek. But, all the same, the Yoktso-pa family did hide something from me, which I would never have heard about had it not been for Joseph Gergan. As we were returning to our camp, he mentioned to me that he knew that Tsewang and Tsewang Paljor shared their wife, Nordzom Rolma, with yet another brother of theirs, who was a Red-hat, unreformed *Nying ma-pa* sect lama. And as we passed down the street away from the household we had just visited, I noticed a monk, clad in the usual red clothes, coming out of a house close-by, and immediately entering another one, as if he did not wish to be seen by us. Joseph pointed him out to me, and told me that this was the man. He lived in the local monastery in the town, and was maintained by it; but he had not given up his share of the family property when he left, and he was still closely associated with his brothers. Not being obliged by the rules of his order to observe celibacy, he shared the common wife, Nordzom Rolma, with them. It was remarkable how the family had not wished to let us know this, and had even witheld mentioning the existence of the lama brother. Joseph did not know his name, so that I was unable to put it down in the genealogy. He was younger than the two other men, and I have consequently shown him after them for this reason.

595 177 842 During the day, investigating the rumour and counter rumour concerning a *porjag* in the Skya-pa household, I heard that no such an institution existed west of the P'hoto-la, the last pass which we had crossed before reaching Mulbek. Asked why this was so, Joseph was told in the village that it was because it was an immoral practice which should not be encouraged. Once again, this appeared to me to be an indication of the effects of culture contact, the people in this frontier area being ashamed of the custom of calling a man in when they had failed to have issue with a woman's other husbands, as is the practice further east in Ladak. The Moslems, however, insisted that *porjags* existed in secret, and assured us that the Buddhists who denied this were not telling the truth.

PART II

000 ### *THE POLYANDRY OF THE TIBETANS OF TIBET PROPER*

In Appendix 1, will be found the account of how we went from Kashmir to Kalimpong in Bengal for the first time in 1938, and returned

1: Drew G-3 (1862-1872) 1875 AV1 Kashmir W. Tibetans A1#

562 595 Among a rough people like the Bhots it is difficult to say what would naturally be the character of the women; that is, what it would be if they had the same liberty of ordinary social intercourse which they now possess, but held to the rule of one woman to one man. I incline to think that polyandry has a bad effect on their natures; that, beyond the openness which one admires, it makes them over-bold, shameless, and causes them to be in a general way coarser than their other circumstances need make them. And to the same custom I attribute the greater facileness, as compared with neighbouring countries, with which those connections with foreigners are formed that have resulted in so many varieties of half-castes at Leh.

CERTAIN CUSTOMS.

886 428 There is a rather curious custom of the father and mother of a grown-up family retiring from active life and its responsibilities at a time when they may not be much beyond middle-age. When the son is married and has a child then the time has come for the grandfather and grandmother to leave their home, to give up the house and the land to their son. They go into a very small house near, taking only one or two head of cattle, and retaining just enough land for themselves to attend to and raise grain from for their food. After this is done they have no more claim on the son, who becomes legal owner of the family property. There is often a house attached to a holding which is put to this very use. The amount of land to be given over is regulated by custom; this, on the death of the old people, comes back to the estate. If there be *two fathers* alive they are both got rid of and provided for in this way.

764 177 In the disposal of their dead the Bhots follow the Hindū custom of burning. But whereas the Hindūs seldom or never let twenty-four hours elapse between death and cremation, these Bhots keep the corpse for many days, feasting their friends round it; the higher in rank the deceased man was, the longer they keep him from the dissolution of fire.

2: Biscoe M-3 (1890-ca. 1920) 1922 AV4 Kashmiri W. Tibetans AJ4

A Trip to Ladakh

788 passers-by to pat them and make them revolve. In some villages they have huge prayer wheels worked by water, which pray automatically night and day, year in and year out for all the village. Lastly, you meet both men and women walking on the road carrying these wheels of metal, which they keep on the spin by the twist of the wrist, for a lead ball is attached to this cylinder by a metal chain, which adds considerable momentum. Some of these hand prayer wheels are beautifully ornamented with silverwork.

291 The people one meets are most picturesquely dressed.
293 The men and the women wear a long woollen garment
484 generally of red, but often of green or some other colour. The men have a leather girdle into which they stick a regular ironmonger's shop of goods, such as one or two knives, a brass opium pipe, a tinder-box, a metal purse, a long metal pen-box with metal inkpot attached, a whip of three thongs, the handle of which is always highly decorated with metal and paint, a cup for their tea and their porridge, and a bag of flour for their food on their journeys. The food is always most simple. They fill their cup with cold water, and then pour the flour into it and stir it with their first finger, and when it becomes a sort of watery paste they drink it. A most unappetising food it is, and gives them indiges-
778 tion continually. Most of them also add an ikon to their belt collection. It is an image of Buddha of silver or gold in a casket of some metal, and a pocket Communion set of copper or silver with much ornamentation.

782 The Tibetan Buddhists have a religious service in
177 which they use bread and cider. It is said that this religious service came from China through the Nestorian Christians, for there is a tradition that St Thomas introduced Christianity into China.